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# NIEMAN REPORTS

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VOL. XXXIX, NO. 3, AUTUMN 1985

MIKE PRIDE gleans a full harvest from his  
Nieman year at Harvard.

*His storehouse of experience is shared with his readers.*

CAROL WEISS polls social scientists and journalists.

*Interaction between the two livens the business beat.*

PETER BRAESTRUP examines the changing relationship  
between the press and the military.

*A look at wartime censorship during World War II  
and the Korean conflict.*

CAROL RISSMAN tracks Operation Moses.

*Have Ethiopian Jews really come home?*

JAMES ROUSMANIERE visits Bangladesh newspapers.

*Setting type by hand does not slow down vital reporting.*



*A Portfolio by Pam Spaulding*

# Events and Occurrences

"Courage mounteth with occasion."

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *King John*

Today journalists in almost every corner of the globe have to report courageously. To file from areas of conflict such as Central or South America, the Middle East, South Africa, Eastern Europe, or Northern Ireland adds a burden of personal peril to the commitment for responsible coverage. Closer to home, the investigation of organized crime, government transgressions, or white collar corruption also involves risks, including libel suits costly to operating budgets and, especially, to professional credibility. Journalists have lost their lives, here and abroad, impelled by a motivation to find the truth.

But truth, in all its guises, is served up daily to the public in gargantuan helpings. Few are able to digest the offerings on the groaning board. Complaints rise to a familiar refrain.

"Some days it's not worth opening the newspaper."

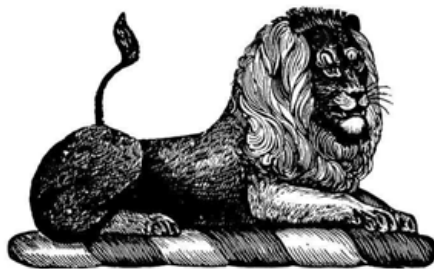
"Who wants to watch television with all that violence? It's too depressing."

Do journalists, then, after combating personal danger to gather news, face the further hurdle of holding an audience long enough for it to absorb events? After all, one way to handle information overload is to shut it out. If one reporter's courage in capturing an important but assaultive new development causes a reader to turn the page or a viewer to change channels, nothing is gained.

Statistics, however, refute this. Newspaper circulation remains healthy; television news ratings are flourishing. One can draw the conclusion that a goodly percentage of the public wishes to be informed, and that the work of journalists has their attention and respect.



The consumer of news does not arrive easily at this point. The sight of crowds



being dispersed by dogs, whips, and water cannons is shocking to a degree that paralyzes reason. For viewers who acknowledge the reality of these dire scenes, it is the first step toward their own commitment to change. Outrage protesting incursions into human dignity and justice needs to be expressed. Letters to the editor and to government officials are positive courses of action. When issues appear to be overwhelming or out of control, they can be channeled and made manageable through personal advocacy.



There is a heritage of courage to draw upon, and it goes back to Colonial times. August 4, 1985, marked the 250th anniversary of the libel trial of John Peter Zenger, publisher of New York's first independent newspaper. He was courageous enough to criticize in print the machinations of Governor William Cosby. Zenger's allegations were indeed libelous. He was defended by a leading lawyer of the day, Philadelphia's Andrew Hamilton. The jury "in small time" acquitted Zenger. In a word, this seditious libel trial was the genesis of what established freedom of the press and what became the First Amendment. The liberty to take public officials to task and document their wrongdoing has been a right and an obligation ever since that landmark decision.



In the midst of today's scarifying news, it is well to reflect on the privileges

of democracy and to recall the numbers of brave men and women who, over the years, have reported from beachheads, battle lines, explorations into the unknown, and from the havoc of fires, floods, and famine-stricken countries. Equally noteworthy is the strength in reporters, editors, and producers who conscientiously pursue the necessary and commonplace day-to-day routines.

Contemporary courage is exemplified by South African journalist Zwelakhe Sisulu, Nieman Fellow '85, and at the time of his year at Harvard a political reporter with *The Sowetan*. He left the United States early in July to return to his native land. Three days after the South African government declared a state of emergency — July 28 — he agreed to a telephone interview with a PBS reporter in the United States. Sisulu's responses to questioning were direct, open, and explicit. His interviewer's final two queries ended with this exchange:

**PBS Reporter:** Mr. Sisulu, are you in some danger for speaking with us this way right now?

**Answer:** Possibly, yes. It's impossible to say, but I can say that this call is being monitored, so whatever I say to you is being heard by the security police, and doubtless I would expect that they would take some retaliatory measure, whatever I said to you. That is something that we expect and are prepared for.

**Reporter:** Mr. Sisulu, I've got to tell you that strikes me as a terrible price to pay for a phone call. What makes you do it?

**Answer:** Well, it's more than a phone call. I have many friends personally in the United States. I have many friends, I have many colleagues, and I already told them that if the time comes, I would let them know that I stood to my principles up to the last, and that I and my family stood for what we believed up to the last.

—T.B.K.L.



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*Let us . . . cherish, therefore, the means of knowledge. Let us dare to read, think, speak, and write . . . Let every sluice of knowledge be opened and set a-flowing.*

JOHN ADAMS, 1735-1826

# A YEAR AT HARVARD

Mike Pride

## A rare chance to step back from the hurly-burly

Since last September I have often felt like a figure from a fifteenth-century painting, walking around with my head aglow. The aura was not one of sanctity but one of privilege and mental exertion. Brainthrob, I came to call it.

The privilege bestowed on me was a Nieman Fellowship, an academic year at Harvard University. Last September Harvard issued me and eighteen other journalists crimson and white plastic cards, like credit cards, that opened virtually any door. We, along with our spouses, had the run of the university — classes, libraries, conferences, speeches, museums, readings.

In addition, the Nieman Foundation and its curator, Howard Simons, arranged two, three, and sometimes more meetings for each week with interesting people. Our guests either broke bread with us or talked with us during two-hour seminars.

We met with astronomers, biologists, biographers, ministers, military officers, American Indians, a steel worker, a saxophone player, and a former governor of Mississippi. One guest invented the Rubik's Cube before Rubik. Another believed he had proved that yellow rain was not poison gas but bee excre-

ment. Another was trying to reduce to two volumes the 17-million-word, 155-volume diary of a bigoted, perverted, photophobic, hypochondriac crank named Arthur Inman. Inman referred to this diary as "a thrashing snake."

I write now to try to tell you some of what I learned but also to try to bind it into sheaves for myself. I have thought often these last months of the connections between ideas and events, between myth and reality, between the past and the future. I have seen the pattern behind my own conditioned responses dissolve like a picture from a screen, leaving the gray fuzz of questions where I thought I had seen three-dimensional shapes.

That is the best thing Harvard did for me: It provided me a new filter for the eyes I turn upon the world, a filter that denies easy answers.

It did more than that, of course. To return to school at 38 is to return free of the anxiety of the question "Who am I?" It is a rare chance to step back from the hurly-burly of getting through life, a rare chance to explore the past with some of the world's best minds as guides, to develop contexts for learning that will last the rest of a lifetime.

But I begin at the end.

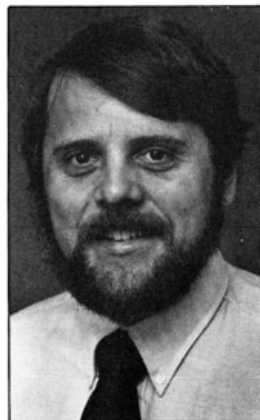
In the beginning were those first tentative steps among my fellow Fellows, people who, I was certain, were all worthier than me, more self-assured, wiser. Fortunately many of them felt the same way.

As time swept by, we saw in one another the common traits of journalists but also the individual trails that had led us all here.

John Chancellor spoke one night at a law school forum. Many people, he said, get into journalism for the fun of it and because they sense no other clear calling. It is only later that they recognize the serious responsibility of the work.

The Niemans, even the 28-year-old youngster in the group, personified that sense of responsibility, a sense of purpose, a sense that what's in the paper or on the air matters, that the words and pictures we use matter. The profession, at its best, is an act of self-affirmation. I want to confront and explain serious issues. I want what has my name on it to be accurate and fair, yes, but I also want it to be as good as I can make it.

*Mike Pride, Nieman Fellow '85, is editor of the Concord (New Hampshire) Monitor. On his return to the newspaper at the end of his Nieman year, he wrote about his experiences. The week-long series appears in the following pages and is printed by permission of the Concord Monitor.*



*Concord Monitor*

Let me leave the generalities and introduce you to a couple of my fellow Fellows.

The most courageous was Zwelakhe Sisulu, black South African whose polite, reasonable exterior belies the outrage of his life. An American looking into the eyes of Zwelakhe's children cannot but feel the feeble inadequacy of even the most enlightened views from this safe distance. To know the Sisulu family is to know apartheid as more than a label for corruption, evil, and violence.

The most unusual story, personal and professional, belonged to Sam Rachlin, Danish television correspondent in Moscow until last year. His mother, a Dane, had married a Lithuanian before World War II. The family was spared shipment west to the gas chambers by being shipped east to Siberian exile just before Hitler took over the country. There they remained for sixteen years until a Danish diplomat badgered Khrushchev into approving their release.

Sam, who was born in exile and lived in Siberia until he was 10, returned as an adult to the Soviet Union to try to convey the Russian mentality to people in the West. His documentaries penetrated the culture as American television seldom does.

We also had among us one of Spain's leading authors, an NBC producer, an editor from *Newsday* on Long Island, reporters from Nashville, Philadelphia, Washington, Los Angeles, Ottawa, and Shanghai, radio people from Boston and New Zealand, editorial writers from Baltimore and Miami, a photographer from Louisville, foreign correspondents who had worked most recently in Poland and East Africa — in sum, a motley group of contemporaries whose experiences provided one of the pleasures of the fellowship.

Yet the Nieman year was primarily one of individual pursuits. I did not have it fixed in my mind when I began, but one trail I followed led to an exploration of memory and meaning in American life. In a year when Ronald Reagan went to Bitburg and every word-slinger this side of Southeast Asia dowsed for the real lessons of Vietnam, I knew by the end I had chosen the right trail.

## Life in South Africa: an undertow of tyranny

The last time we talked about it, Zwelakhe Sisulu still didn't know what to do with his Harry Belafonte records. Should he try to sell them? Should he slip them into other album covers? Or should he merely take his chances and carry them home with him to South Africa?

Zwelakhe was leaning toward taking his chances. Sometimes, he said, the authorities turn their heads the other way. They would certainly see the albums when he entered the country, but they might let them pass through. They might also put a note in a file somewhere that Zwelakhe Sisulu, 34, black, citizenship undeterminable, had in his possession on his return from a year at Harvard University several discs containing the

music of a banned performer. And these same Harry Belafonte records might be confiscated in some future search of his home and used as evidence of Sisulu's wanton disregard for the law. Or they might not. One never knows in South Africa.

That, of course, is the undertow of tyranny. One never knows. One never knows just how far one will be allowed to stretch the rules. One never knows when one will be startled awake by a rap on the door in the night. One never knows, even when the electric shock is entering one's body just above the kidneys or when one's head is being held under in a bucket of water, exactly why one was picked up. One just never knows.

Zwelakhe Sisulu was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard for the last nine months. He and his wife Zoda and their two young children, Moyikw and Zoya, lived on a quiet, tree-lined street in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Their most telling family trait is a smile.

I saw that smile on Moyikw's face one day this spring when I emerged from the Walter Lippmann House, the home of the Nieman Fellows. Moyikw turned 5 during the Nieman year. That made him an adult for the purposes of prison visitation in South Africa, and for this reason, he no longer will be able to accompany his father on visits to his grandfather. His grandfather, Zwelakhe's father, is 73 years old. He has been in prison with Nelson Mandela for more than 20 years and may be visited by only one adult at a time.

The day I especially noticed this child's sunshine smile as he ran across the lawn was the day his father told us the story of his life and career. He told his story in a room where all the Nieman seminars were held, where Teddy White, Seamus Heaney, Helen Vendler, David Halberstam, Katharine Graham, and so many others spoke to us. But never was the room so still, never so filled with anxiety, shock, emotion, kinship, as when Zwelakhe Sisulu told us about himself.

Zwelakhe is the son of Walter and Albertina Sisulu, who have sacrificed their personal freedom for the cause of black liberation in South Africa. From 1963 to 1981, the first eighteen years of her husband's life sentence for treason, Albertina Sisulu was banned. Banning is tantamount to house arrest. Earlier this year Albertina Sisulu was arrested and charged with treason. She, too, now faces prison, or worse.

Because his parents were so often underground, banned, imprisoned, or detained, Zwelakhe lived with relatives as a youth. When he finished high school, his attempt to enter the university met resistance aimed "at keeping people applying until they reach middle age." So he became a computer programmer.

His real love, however, was writing. He began writing short stories — prolifically — and submitting them to a magazine called *Drum*. "The more rejections I got from *Drum*, the more convinced I became that I was South Africa's answer to George Bernard Shaw," he said.

Wisely, someone at *Drum* pointed him toward newspaper work. He entered a trainee program at the *Rand Daily Mail*, and before long he was president of a union of black journalists. Black journalists were used primarily as leg men, meaning they gathered information for white journalists, who did the writing.

The union's purpose was to improve both the skills and the lot of black journalists.

The *Rand Daily Mail*, which recently ceased publication, was a white paper with a section for blacks wrapped around it. By espousing African National Congress positions in the 1960's, it had earned a reputation for courageous journalism. In the 1970's, it retained its allegiance to black aspirations, but this allegiance was tested shortly after Zwelakhe's tenure there began.

This test, and the cementing of Zwelakhe's political stance, began on the night of June 17, 1976, the second day of the Soweto uprisings. Soweto is a black township with a population of perhaps 1.5 million. Assigned to the story, Zwelakhe sat out deep into that second night waiting to talk to the authorities. As he waited, he listened to groans coming from a pile of bodies between him and the police station. "In all my life I have never seen so many corpses — a big pile of corpses," he said.

Later, black people with modest wounds, some of them children, were detailed to bury the corpses. Zwelakhe sat watching long enough to see "dogs actually pulling bodies out of shallow graves."

He went back to the paper with his story, but it was never published. His editors greeted it with disbelief, disbelief that absolute control could dissolve into absolute anarchy overnight. "They wouldn't accept this as a result of police action," he said.

Zwelakhe went on to work for two other papers that were closed down by the government. He also went on to become president of another black journalists' union. In late 1980, with his union on strike, Zwelakhe's life took a sudden turn.

As he described it, the moment unfolded like this: Two guys come up to you and say, "We've got good news for you," and you turn to hear it, and they say you're banned. "Your life is basically just cut off." No explanation, no recourse, no appeal.

Banning orders generally last for years. They prohibit the banned person from talking with more than one person at a time. A banned person may not work, may not travel, may not enter a factory or an educational institution. The list goes on. A banned person must be in his yard or house from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. weeknights and from 6 P.M. Friday to 6 A.M. Monday. A banned person must submit to searches of his person and house at any hour. The security forces often come in the middle of the night.

Nineteen eighty-one was a worse year for Zwelakhe, a year in which he spent eight months in detention. Detention is apartheid talk for prison. The charge? "It's impossible to say you are being detained or even banned for one specific thing," Zwelakhe said. But probably for union activities, for his politics in general. The government "is convinced that you are engaged in activities that are aimed at overthrowing the state," he said.

The first month in prison, Zwelakhe was left alone. The second month, intense interrogation began. Electric shock above the kidneys was a favored method of persuasion. Suffocation, either a wet towel wrapped around the head or the head held under water in a bucket, was another. Sometimes Zwelakhe was given showers three times a day. Sometimes, particularly when the shock treatment was frequent, he was forbidden

to wash for months. He was often deprived of water for days. "You think you're going crazy?"

There was a way out. "The statement is all worked out — all you have to do is sign," Zwelakhe said. The statement is a confession, a compromise, an implication of others, an effort to have the signer provide information that the state probably already has. To sign is to betray the cause. Zwelakhe did not sign.

While her husband was in prison, Zodwa Sisulu sent food and clothing to him constantly. Some of it reached him. His keepers sometimes waited until the fruit she sent him rotted, and then gave it to him with the message that this was what his supposedly loving wife thought of him.

Zwelakhe was eventually sentenced to nine months for refusing to give evidence, but this sentence was waived on a technicality. Freedom came suddenly, unexpectedly. The authorities simply let him go.

Zwelakhe has strong political views, views he expressed freely in private but suppressed at public gatherings. His basic position is that any reform proposal is irrelevant if it does not include the one-person, one-vote equation.

Zwelakhe Sisulu headed back to South Africa a few weeks ago. He hoped to edit a new progressive newspaper, but having worked for two such papers that were closed by the government, he was already thinking ahead to his next job. We Niemans fear for him and his family. Many of us urged him not to return.

One morning a few days before I brought him to Concord to have a look at the *Monitor*, I asked him what he thought of a statement in a recent magazine article that his generation of blacks in South Africa was not only lost but also willing to die.

"I am part of a generation that must be sacrificed," he said. And what about his 5-year-old son Moyikw? Zwelakhe hopes that what his generation accomplished will spare his son's, "but maybe that generation will have to be sacrificed too."

## Memory and history: there is a difference

*People are always shouting they want to create a better future. It's not true. The future is an apathetic void of no interest to anyone. The past is full of life, eager to initiate us, provoke and insult us, tempt us to destroy or repaint it. The only reason people want to be masters of the future is to change the past.*

—MILAN KUNDERA

Coincidence brought me face-to-face early one spring evening with a man whose name had come up in a history lecture that morning. The man was McGeorge Bundy, adviser to Kennedy and Johnson, and the event was a JFK love-in made frosty for just a moment by my nervous, fumbling questions about Vietnam.

That morning I had attended a classroom lecture on the



1960's and Vietnam. The professor, Stephan Thernstrom, had said that Bundy and other Kennedy advisers replaced Eisenhower's "quite cautious foreign policy" with "a crusading zeal for intervention abroad," a zeal untempered by a notion of the limits of American power. Had Kennedy lived, Thernstrom said, the evidence was strong that the country's course in Vietnam would have differed little from what it was under Johnson.

It must have sounded to Bundy that evening, amid the after-dinner tinkle of coffee spoons in the MIT faculty club, that I was fabricating these assertions to lure him onto forbidden ground. He had declared Vietnam off-limits for our discussion. When I clumsily apologized and repeated Thernstrom's statements to him, he reddened and dismissed them as "not true" and "fanciful."

Like Thernstrom and Bundy, most Americans who lived through the period disagree about the Vietnam War. In our struggle to discover its moral lessons, we often overlook one crucial fact about that time: There was no universally accepted correct course for a person to take. Now that the individual conscience of the 1960's has become the individual retrospection of the 1980's, self-justification colors the act of interpreting the past.

At Harvard I took several courses that helped me to understand the present's shifting demands on the past. The best was the "American Myth," taught by Sacvan Bercovitch, a visionary scholar and native Canadian who, even after years of teaching in the United States, says of America: "I feel like an anthropologist here."

Bercovitch has a coherent view of the American story, from the Puritans through Ronald Reagan. It begins with a deceptively simple question. What is America? Can it be defined by language, by race, by geography? In the beginning, he says, was the word, and the word was America. . . and the word has stretched to accommodate new languages, new peoples, new lands.

Since conventional national characteristics fail to define America, Bercovitch concludes that America is a set of assertions and declarations, a written word constantly tested by events. But how, he asks, do you make a society cohere around democracy, equality, and individual rights when the nation is built on land-grabbing, the enslavement of one race, and genocidal policies toward another? How do you keep a myth alive in the face of facts?

One answer is that time erodes the raw edges of even the most devastating human events. Blood dries and fades. Screams cease to echo. The stubble of events is turned under, leaving a clear field for interpretation.

During the American Revolution, disdain for the Continental Army was widespread. Tightwad citizens consistently deprived Washington's army of food, supplies, and pay. Profiteering was rampant.

Most of this was plowed under. Succeeding generations instead embraced symbols and images meant to fold the past into the present, to celebrate the principles, not the pragmatism, the altruism, not the expediency. Hence Parson Weems' legend of Washington. Hence the statue of the farmer at the Concord

[Massachusetts] bridge, his left hand resting on the plow, a musket in his right, enlisted for life in a myth.

It is proving harder to apply such selective memory to the Vietnam War. During a lecture last fall, John King Fairbank, the China scholar, used a standard definition of history that stuck with me: History is "what we think happened — alive and changeable." As much as we would like, in Kundera's phrase, to make ourselves masters of the future by changing the past, it is usually not what we think that guides our interpretations of the events of our own lifetimes; it is what we feel.

If we feel guilty for the treatment of Vietnam veterans, overnight we convert them from murderers to heroes. All of them. Similarly, it is now fashionable to charge the antiwar movement with treasonous support of Hanoi at worst and silly self-indulgence at best.

Replacing individual faces with stereotypes allows us to make revisions that hold the past accountable to what has happened since. This revisionism has reached a point where we can no longer even agree that the United States suffered a military defeat in Vietnam. One current line of thinking holds that defeat is not only bitter but also unAmerican, so let's call it by some other name. This will make it easier to square what happened to the United States in Vietnam with the idea we call America.

A course I took on the American Revolution included the recent hypothesis that Lincoln and others of his age brought on the Civil War to win fame and glory for their names. Once independence had been won and the Constitution established, this hypothesis runs, what path was left to the American Olympus for Lincoln's generation? Only the crisis of the Union.

Few historians have found this theory convincing, but it illustrates my point: History remains ever open to new theories about motive, and the deeper into the past an event recedes, the more objectively motive can be explored.

The Vietnam War will not soon pass beyond human remembrance to the time when historians can dig into cold graves, but living memory has a value of its own.

I heard both Professor Thernstrom and a graduate student lecture on the war to a class of Harvard undergraduates. The graduate student took the class on a chronological trip through the war, but first she talked about her own experience as a teenager.

She talked about picking up the large weekly magazines — *Life*, *Look*, the *Saturday Evening Post* — that decorated the coffee tables of middle America a generation ago. Looking at the pictures made her hands feel dirty, she said, and this dirty feeling permeated her skin and eventually found her soul. It was not just the violence of the images of the war in these magazines that moved her; it was also the obscenity of sitting in her living room looking at them.

I was glad to hear this memory put to words. It is not a memory on the level at which Thernstrom and Bundy might argue the past, and it does not help in reshaping the war to fit a myth. But to bear witness with regard for neither current politics nor one's place in history is to preserve for at least one generation the complexity of the living past.

## How the kids of the 1980's compare with the kids of the 1960's

*I have repeatedly known young men of sensibility converted in a moment to the belief that this was the man they were in search of, the man of men, who could tell them all they should do.*

—EMERSON ON THOREAU

*Where have all the flowers gone?*

—PETE SEEGER

Carlos Fuentes, the Mexican author, told one of his Harvard classes a wonderful story about Santa Anna, Mexican military hero and many-time president.

In the battle of Veracruz in 1847, Santa Anna lost a leg. Being as shrewd about theatrics as some modern politicians, he had the leg buried with full military honors.

The general's career was filled with hills and valleys, however, and each time he fell into disfavor, his opponents would dip up the remains of the leg and drag it through the dusty streets. And each time his eminence was restored, Santa Anna would return the leg to a place of honor.

At about the time I heard Fuentes tell this tale, I was reading *Walden* for a course. I had read *Walden* at least twice before, years ago. Thoreau inspired my generation. Too much so perhaps, but he made iconoclasm seem more reasonable than conformity, following one's own muse more acceptable than following the lonely crowd.

Imagine my shock when the students of the 1980's responded to *Walden* with indifference. Thoreau was as irrelevant to them as Cicero had been to me.

After the first lecture on *Walden*, I went up to the teacher, who, like me, seemed to be in his 30's, and asked what had happened to Thoreau. Were we wrong about him, or was Thoreau's book like Santa Anna's leg, destined to be revered one moment and dragged through the dust the next?

The teacher, Donald Weber, said I had not seen the worst of it. He had had students in recent years who trashed Thoreau. "Where did this bum get off trying to dictate terms for an honorable life?" they asked. "What was the source of his authority? Why didn't he get a job?"

This was my most violent collision during the last year with a phenomenon that has been welcomed by some older people, lamented by others. Succinctly stated, it goes like this: Kids today are not interested in changing the system. Rather they are looking for their places in it, and they are defining those places in material terms. Values are out; value is in.

Columnists and other commentators have noted, usually ruefully, that the most popular course at Harvard last year was not in literature or history but in economics. That fact invites a leap to the conclusion that today's students see the future solely in terms of corporate law and investment banking.

And some do. One needn't go far to find a student who will say that his goal in life is to get rich quick. A fellow Nieman

told of a business class during which a student argued: "Well, not that many jobs require principles." In a discussion of a case in which an applicant was having trouble landing a job, a student said something to this effect: "No wonder none of the investment houses will hire him. The reward in banking is money, and this guy puts on his résumé that he works with underprivileged kids!"

It is easy to pick on the business school, which is stocked with young chargers whose confidence will soon be justified where it most matters to them right now: starting salaries. But there, as elsewhere at Harvard, the professors and the work seemed to me to temper rather than encourage naked careerism.

I took several core courses and concluded that an undergraduate education at Harvard is, among other things, an education in Western morality. Thoreau and Emerson are read, but they are put in their places, not revered as sages.

Three things struck me about the undergraduates: their maturity, their resignation to the huge volume of work expected of them, and the quality of their thought. I also came to believe that they had an advantage over the 1960's generation in that events were not forcing them to become politically engaged at a young age.

This has a negative side as well. Youth is the time for excesses. If injustice does not move a young person to act with passion, will he not lose such passion forever?

Some of us older students stood smugly bemused through a half-hearted anti-apartheid rally in Harvard Yard this spring. I noted that while the old uniform, jeans and refitted military garb, remained in fashion, it had been augmented by a badge of affluence — a 35-mm camera slung around every other neck. At one point during the rally, Mel King, a Boston politico who had spoken earlier, stood with his back to Memorial Church pointing his long lens at a successor on the stump, Jesse Jackson. In the old days, only the enemy brought cameras to rallies.

Yet the old days seemed very old to me, old and embarrassing, when speakers on campus returned me to them. Nothing saddened me more, in fact.

Two black leaders, known as LeRoi Jones and Stokely Carmichael in the 1960's, came to Harvard on different days last fall to harangue anyone who would listen.

Jones, a poet who changed his name to Amiri Baraka, spoke shortly before the November election. He said it was important for black people to see Walter Mondale as "an arrogant racist sucker" whose only value might be to stop Ronald Reagan's "raucous jingoism."

Mondale and Reagan, Baraka said, were "two murderers coming at you in the night." The only difference was that Reagan would slice your jugular vein before you knew it, while Mondale would first knock on your door and talk to you "like some kind of magazine salesman or something." When you turned your back, he would take out his razor, but by then you would have a crowbar in your hand.

Although Baraka lamented the lack of "a fist of popular organization to smash monopoly capitalism," he professed to believe that on the day black people understood that equality was not coming, America would erupt in flames.



Carmichael, now known as Dr. Kwame Tureé with an accent above the final "e," also treated his listeners to the rhetoric of the coming revolution. "Capitalism is the enemy of all mankind," he said. "The system will be destroyed. Of that there is no question." (I couldn't help comparing this to the last line in a commentary by Jerry Rubin, the reconstructed Yippie: "Let's make capitalism work for everyone.")

Tureé is an impassioned speaker, and he knows his applause lines. He did not have his audience transfixed, at least not in the sense that Jackson might have, but it appreciated the fire in his words.

As I looked around the auditorium a couple of times on Tureé's refrain ("We are revolutionaries!"), however, I wondered who he was including in that "we." Few of these students would join his cause with conviction. They might agree with some of his statements, but they were smart enough to pick and choose.

Kids in the 1960's, it seems to me, were inclined to forfeit such discretion, to swallow the whole message, to go along with the crowd while thinking they were doing the opposite. When Jones and Carmichael and Rubin and Abby Hoffman said, "We are revolutionaries!" they had no cause to wonder who "we" were.

Kids today. . . well, they actually tend to like their parents. And they're politer. They're less likely to rave against injustice than to attend to social problems at their roots, by tutoring slow learners or feeding urban derelicts. They listen better. Because of this, they're going to be better educated. Perhaps this education will help them to negotiate better than we have the distance between a shopping mall filled with people tripping over each other to buy things no one needs and a dusty refugee camp in Ethiopia where children are starving.

I liked what I saw of the kids of the 1980's. I was glad I resisted my first impulse to try to teach them a thing or two about conscience. On that score, it was my old friend Thoreau who stayed my hand, with these words: "Age is no better, hardly so well qualified, as an instructor of youth, for it has not profited so much as it has lost."

Like Santa Anna's leg, Henry David will one day be restored, but these kids don't need him. They will not be looking in lakes for the reflection of their true selves.

## Creativity: reflections on four men of words

Occasionally I expected too much of the people I met or heard during my nine months at Harvard, but a few of them moved me in ways that I could not have imagined. I want to write about four of these few.

As a group they reflect my prejudices. They are men of words. In trying to decide what they shared with each other and the world, I hit upon a common trait that seemed to drive, or at least to accompany, their creativity and humanity.

That trait was humility. It was a humility that denied

neither the gifts they possessed nor the works they had made. Rather it was the recognition that a force beyond the flesh had lifted the work above its maker.

Seamus Heaney respects the power of accident in his poetry. In the two most prolific periods of his life as a poet, he experienced "a great sense of supply, of being visited."

The death of Allen Ginsberg's mother inspired Ginsberg's best poetry, an outpouring called "Kaddish." When Heaney's mother died last year, he knew he could not be as overt as Ginsberg in converting his grief into poetry. "I'm afraid of the will and the intention taking away from the subconscious supply," he said.

Later Heaney wrote a poem about a tree that had been cut down. When he reached two lines about the space the tree had occupied and what it meant to him, he realized — with surprise — that he was probably writing about his mother. "The poem itself discovered a way to go on," he said. "The arbitrary became the absolute."

Like Heaney, Carlos Fuentes, the novelist, occupies two cultures. He teaches at Harvard one semester and dedicates much of the rest of the year to "the unnatural activity of writing" in his native Mexico. He is like Heaney in another way: Both have assumed multiple roles in their societies.

Fuentes, who has been a diplomat, politician, teacher, journalist, and commentator, visited the Nieman Fellows last October. He is a handsome, gracious, eloquent man of 57, full of life and passion. The diversity of his calling is a common phenomenon in the Third World. The United States, by contrast, is a rich, ordered society in which it is not necessary for the novelist to be a journalist or a politician. In Latin America, in Eastern Europe, Fuentes said, "If it is not the writer who gives the news, who will?"

Having sat for two hours in Fuentes' thrall as the conversation glided in and out of literature, politics, and teaching, I determined to read some of his novels. He writes them in his head, and they pour onto the page, hundreds of pages, effusive writing, its heat subdued at times, barely controlled at others.

In one of Fuentes' early novels, *The Death of Artemio Cruz*, the title character is waiting to be shot at sunrise. The reader knows he will survive, but Artemio Cruz does not. After building up to the fateful day, Fuentes begins it with this line: "Morning showed its blue eyelid over the desert."

This is discovered imagery, imagery that stops a reader and invites him to discover it too, to evoke his own blue dawns and against them to see the threat of demise through the eyes of Artemio Cruz. The novelist's ability to lift us out of ourselves in a fictional world has a parallel in the real world.

Bishop Desmond Tutu came to preach in Memorial Church in Harvard Yard shortly after he won the Nobel Peace Prize. I have heard him disparaged as a black South African playing to and beloved primarily by Western audiences. He has no political constituency in South Africa, it is said, so while his positions seem courageous to outsiders, he is relatively harmless to the regime, hence on safe ground inside.

His message that December day contained no ringing condemnations or extreme demands. It was a message of hope,

too much hope, considering the situation, and of humility. It was a message of thanks from a man who had been thrust into the limelight and now invited others to join him because the Nobel Prize honored not one man, but all men and women who pray for peace and justice in South Africa.

What remains with me is less what he said than how he looked, a short man with deliberate but confident bearing, climbing the steps to the wooden pulpit perhaps ten feet above the floor. An electric light shone from above, and Bishop Tutu looked up to it and spread his arms wide and often as he spoke. That gesture made him look larger than he is, for his arms are long and his fingers dance.

Light, he said, will triumph over darkness, life over death, good over evil. With those simple words he descended. The congregation sat in rapt silence even after he had taken his seat near the altar. It was a moment in which to suspend dark thoughts, to hold back the day of judgment, to drink the humanity that transcends blood and hatred.

Another moment of transcendence occurred one November night in Sanders Theater. Sanders is the high-ceilinged, apse-like east end of Memorial Hall, which was built in the 1870's and honors Harvard's Civil War dead. Sanders has pews rather than theater seats, and sitting in them is the quintessential Harvard experience. White marble statues of James Otis and Edward Everett look upon you, and the shades of departed cultural giants float across the boards. Even the air you breathe seems old and pensive.

I had a Shakespeare class in Sanders in which the professor, Walter Kaiser, sometimes played four parts simultaneously, but I shall remember it more for the night Isaac Bashevis Singer read two of his stories from the Sanders stage.

He sat alone at a table, a bent, 80-year-old man with a coat draped over his shoulders. I had wondered whether it wouldn't be tedious to listen to a storyteller; after all, no one had read me a story for thirty years. My skepticism vanished the moment he began to read. The spoken word had never seemed so hypnotic, so capable of creating a milieu, but then there were two milieus: the one in the stories and the one in which the voice of the master storyteller drummed softly out over the audience in the old hall.

Singer's second story was about a man whose vices included fits of anger. After causing much suffering through this fault, the man went to a rabbi. The rabbi advised him to deal with the anger by acting the opposite of how he felt when anger visited him.

Be gentle and meek toward the objects of your anger, the rabbi told the man. God knows your intentions and the intentions behind your intentions, but He cares about actions, not intentions. Besides, the rabbi said, if you can learn to act with kindness though you feel anger — who knows? — perhaps your intentions may one day come to coincide with your actions. Faith, likewise, may come to the person who acts as though he has it.

After he had read his stories, Singer took questions from the audience. A librarian asked him if he enjoyed writing for children. Yes, he said, because their responses are honest. They

can fall prey to neither promotion (an ad in *The New York Times*) nor authority (a review telling them this is a story they should read). Either they like the story or they don't, and if they don't, they won't read it.

I felt like one of Singer's children that night, like someone permitted to stand close to his gift, to touch it even, to touch something in time and out of time. As my wife, Monique, and I left the dull light of the theater for the darkness outside, we tried in vain to put words to what Singer had given us.

A couple of months later, during the introductory lecture to his poetry course, Seamus Heaney came as close to the source of this gift as anyone I heard. He was defining poetry — “a scare word to some people, or perhaps it's not scary enough” — but his definition seemed to me to encompass the ecstatic moment of both the giver and the recipient of all creative or spiritual energy.

When he reached the object of a sentence in which he was describing the creative impulse, he opened his mouth wide and emitted a reluctant guttural. The impetus to write poetry, he said, is the urgent need to help that impulse elaborate itself in sonic terms.

“When it's achieved, its thereness . . . there 'tis . . . something time-stopping for both poet and reader.”

For his latest collection, Seamus Heaney wrote a poem called “Shelf Life” about found and refound objects — a pewter plate, a smoothing iron, a granite chip. One of the sections, “Iron Spike,” translates an old railroad spike he found near Eagle Pond into a remembrance of the age of steam.

Eagle Pond is in New Hampshire, across Route 4 from Donald Hall's white farmhouse and just northwest of the old Potter Place railroad station. I saw Heaney's “Iron Spike” as representing more than a bygone age; I saw it as one poet's having found a poem on the turf of another poet.

I imagined the two of them walking together and Heaney spying the spike first and picking it up and seeing in this rusted, obsolete piece of metal a poem that even Donald Hall had overlooked — Donald Hall, who for decades has mined this land in prose and verse, Donald Hall, who once even invented a railroad nearby.

I asked Heaney about his found-things poems one night over dinner. Once on an airplane trip, he said, the idea occurred to him for a poem about pewter, and the pewter poem “opened that line to me.” Simple as that, like hooking up to cable television.

Usually Heaney is more expansive about his own gift and the gifts of his fellow poets, quick and dead. He now has a platform to match his expansiveness. This year he assumed one of Harvard's most prestigious chairs, becoming Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. He lives in Dublin and comes to Cambridge for the winter term.

The name of Heaney's teaching position may conjure black robes and five-syllable words, but the man who fills it is unassuming. He wears an old tweed jacket with the flaps on the pockets wrinkled from his nervous habit of putting his hands in them while lecturing. He likes to eat squid cooked in its own ink. He loves a good joke, and he played one on his class

on April Fool's Day with a mock-serious consideration and reading of the world's worst poet.

Heaney is 46 years old, about 5 foot 9, and roundish. He has thick, yellow-gray hair, untamed by brush or comb, with thick white sideburns. When the light comes from behind him, his hair can look like a halo.

Both on and away from the podium, he manages to seem oblivious to the fact that many people consider him the greatest living poet. "Writing poems becomes a habit," he said. Then one day, "you are a poet — a big word. . . and you hope your poems justify your sense of yourself as a poet."

In the opening lecture of his modern poetry course this winter, Heaney defined poetry as a mode of shaping intuition or apprehension in a body of language. Poetry is not a program sold through an act of persuasion, he said, but a transmission, a sensation, in which meaning, form, and sound are one.

Heaney went to the pantheon to invoke the spirits of poetry — Frost, Wadsworth, all the way back to Horace. He quoted Horace's dictum that poetry be both beautiful and useful, then exhibited the progress of the centuries with a mild objection to the word "useful." "Not the corkscrew and the tin-opener," he said, "but what's inside!"

Heaney does not dissect poems; he teaches poets: how their lives influenced their work, what they wanted to say, how they wanted to say it, where they fit in the literary canon.

Expectations shadow a poet who is a native of Northern Ireland. Heaney has made peace with William Butler Yeats, the poet to whom he is inevitably compared. In fact, he teaches Yeats with an understanding that only a compatriot could have reached.

Compassion for Yeats is a quiet genuflection to Ireland's cultural past; Ireland's present makes louder and more public demands. Heaney has answered these demands in his work, applying the poetic imagination to specific events, and staking a general claim to his Irishness.

"I just wanted to take possession of my country," he said of this blend of art and life. By this he did not mean the small part of his country partitioned off by the boundary negotiated in 1922. He meant all of Ireland.

In a poem called "Bogland," Heaney finds in the depths of Irish bogs the cultural equivalent of the American West. The poem, he said (with a curled lip and a twinkle in his eye), compares "a country with depth but no direction to one with direction but no depth." If a distant vista represents America's possibilities, the seeker after an Irish myth needs to dig.

Digging is a Heaney family tradition. In another poem, called "Digging," the son resolves to follow his father's path but with a different tool. The father, a farmer, digs with a spade; the son, a poet, chooses to dig with his pen.

Heaney has come to believe Robert Lowell's notion that poetry can tell what happened. He applies this notion, sometimes subtly, sometimes not, in poems about the troubles in Northern Ireland and about the artist's relation to society. As "Digging" makes clear, however, his pen is a tool, not a weapon. "I didn't want to take a machine gun and go shout at my neighbors, 'Brits out!'" he said.

Poems, he said, can be either stained glass, crying, "Behold me!" or clear glass, providing a view of what's outside. When he writes or hears a stained-glass poem, a poem of "pleasure and adornment. . . some part of me wants to wreck it." One test of writing poetry, he said, "is to survive that refusal in me."

He quickly added, apologizing for the contradiction, that poetry is "an affair of transcendence and pleasure and delight."

Heaney promotes and carries on this affair wherever he goes. He is less regular in his writing habits than any writer I have known or read about. His verse comes when it comes, and poems are where he finds them — in Ireland, where he is now a local boy who made good, at Harvard, where other English professors sometimes come to hear him lecture, even on another poet's turf.

I called Donald Hall the other day, to ask him what he remembered about "Iron Spike." It turns out that it happened pretty much as I imagined it.

Heaney did indeed find a railroad spike near the old B&M [Boston & Maine] tracks during one of his walks with Hall. He also found a large round piece of birch bark with eye and nose holes. It looked like a face, and Heaney later told Hall he had hung it in his house in Ireland, where it now looked down on him.

Hall expected the birch-bark face to show up in a poem. He was surprised when "Iron Spike" appeared in print a year or so ago, surprised but not envious. "The more Eagle Pond poems the better," he said.

## A note-taking sampler

**D**uring my year at Harvard, I became an even more obsessive note-taker than I had been before. I found I couldn't take notes while riding a bicycle, but at practically any other time, I was likely to pull out a pad and scribble something down. These notes I later entered in a journal.

For better or for worse, here are disparate samplings from that journal:

•

Stanley Boxer, abstract artist: "Art is a public act. The act is not completed without people looking at the pictures. I want people to drop dead when they see my art."

On the difficulties of the artist's life: "The large majority of artists own a complete set of their own works."

•

Walter Kaiser, teacher of Shakespeare, quotes a number during a lecture, then repeats the number, adding: "Since television, you have to say numbers twice."

•

Allan Carr, Broadway (*La Cage Aux Folles*) and Hollywood (*Grease*) producer, on how the VCR made a certain success of a terrible movie, *Where the Boys Are*: It has a summer setting, so it will play well in Cleveland and Detroit in the winter. It has a juvenile plot, so kids will like it. It has a touch of romance, so mothers will watch it. It has enough sex so that husbands will peek over their newspapers while pretending they're paying no attention to it. Money in the bank.

Inscription on Emerson Hall: What is man that Thou art mindful of him?

The days of liberalism among Harvard economists are over. Nowadays, according to Professor Marc Roberts, a holdout himself, the faculty's consensus on the American economy can be summed up by this sentence: "There can't be anything better than this or the free-market system would have produced it."

From Sid Davis, NBC news correspondent:

For the 1980 debate, Jimmy Carter's handlers had demanded and been granted camera angles that would conceal that their man was a couple of inches shorter than Ronald Reagan.

The network people wired Carter in the standard way, microphone clipped to tie, wire down pants leg and attached to floor. Reagan's people wired their man themselves. When the debate ended, Reagan unclipped his microphone, stepped from behind his speaker's stand and crossed the stage, his hand extended to the president.

Result: In living rooms across America, the final impression of millions of viewers was of a magnanimous challenger gracefully glad-handing his stiff, shorter opponent.

What America didn't see: Carter was stapled to the floor.

Diana Eck [comparative religion and Indian studies professor], quoting Gandhi's answer when he was asked what he thought of Christian culture: "I think it would be a good idea."

Utah Phillips, folk singer, on how he advised his son when his son told him he wanted to join the Marines: "Don't forfeit the power to choose your own enemies."

Phillips also jokes about being persecuted for his ideas: "The Unitarians burned a question mark on my front lawn."

Joe Bower, business professor, contrasting American eco-

omic policy with Japan's: "You want to consume before you can pay for it. As long as that is your goal, you're going to have a sick economy."

Maxine Kumin, poet, on winning a Pulitzer Prize: "When you win a prize, there are a lot of tin cans attached."

Robert Parker, mystery writer, writes like clockwork — five pages per working day. His latest contract calls for him to write longer books. Why? Americans like to buy fat books. How will he do it? Like clockwork: 80 working days equals 400 pages.

Seamus Heaney, on why one translator is having difficulty with his poems: "My noise and the French noise are two different things."

Where does the docu- end and the drama begin? At a law school forum on the television docudrama on the Atlanta child killings, Alan Dershowitz, law professor, told Abby Mann, television producer, that he had liked a line from Mann's *Judgment at Nuremberg* so much that he had used it in court. He later learned that the judge at Nuremberg hadn't uttered it.

"You were better than the judge, Abby," Dershowitz said.

Professor W. Jackson Bate, on Samuel Johnson: When your thinking leads you in a certain direction, you meet him on his way back. He has been there before you.

I often went to the Woodberry Poetry Room at Lamont Library to listen to great poets on record. Most of the students there had come to listen to records of Shakespeare's plays with their Riverside editions of the complete works on their laps.

A worker in the poetry room told me that when they're studying for finals, many students turn the dial from 33 to 45 rpm. This cuts 25 percent from listening time at the small cost of hearing Sir Laurence Olivier play Othello in soprano and Maggie Smith play Desdemona as Mickey Mouse.

Lukas Foss, conductor and composer, on role of the critic: "If he loves something, he's a mere fan; if he hates it, he's an authority."



On maturing as a conductor: "When I was young, if I heard a mistake, I was quick to point it out because I thought if I didn't point it out, they'd think I hadn't heard it. Now I know they know I heard it, so now when I stop, perhaps they know it's something important."

•

One day last winter I held in my hand a piece of amber that for twenty million years had preserved two ants within it. Edward O. Wilson, the sociobiologist who showed this to the Nieman Fellows, said with satisfaction that this was one piece of amber that had been "rescued before it wound up hanging over the cleavage of some banker's wife in Dayton."

•

Richard Pipes, expert on Russia and the Soviet Union, explained to a class the importance of understanding the Soviet peasant mentality. In 1900, he said, transplanted peasants comprised 80 percent of Russia's urban population. That figure has decreased to about 33 percent, but nearly every major Soviet political figure in this century was either a peasant or recent descendant of peasantry.

The characteristics of Russian peasants? They were conditioned to authoritarian rule, communal ownership of land, and a lack of individuality.

•

Cesar Chavez, farm union leader: "All my life I have had one dream, one goal, one vision: to overthrow a farm labor system that doesn't treat farm workers as human beings. . . . They are not beasts of burden."

•

Professor Vladimir Alexandrov, citing Joseph Brodsky's answer to "Why read poetry?": Language is the greatest achievement of a culture; poetry is the greatest achievement of a language.

•

George Skelton, *Los Angeles Times* reporter who has covered Ronald Reagan as both governor and president, says that over the years he has repeatedly seen otherwise astute people go through the same stages in assessing Reagan:

1. He's a puppet. He's controlled by the people around him.
2. No, on second thought, he acts on his own. But he's dumb.
3. Well, he's not really dumb, but he's narrow.
4. He's going to blow up the world. He's dangerous.

•

Asked what should be done to save the New Hampshire primary, Teddy White responded: "Abolish the g--- thing!"

•

Bill Staines, troubadour, defines black flies as "the piranhas of the air."

•

Quotation from Beckett used as an epigraph on instructions to undergraduates about how to write a term paper: "There are many ways in which the thing I am trying in vain to say may be tried in vain to be said."

•

Gerry Mulligan, jazz saxophonist and composer, jokingly, when asked why so few women play jazz: "It looks so terrible for a pretty girl to get up and play a trumpet."

•

Bumper Sticker (courtesy of Art Buchwald): Weinberger For President. Let's Get It Over With.

Buchwald defines an economist as "someone who will tell you a thousand ways to make love but doesn't know any women."

Who was the easiest president for Buchwald to make fun of? "Nixon. He was my Camelot. I could read a Nixon story at 9 in the morning and be on the tennis court by 11."

•

Professor Peter Ashton, quoting Abba Eban in support of his admiration for China's recent gains in feeding one quarter of the world's population: "When all else fails, people turn to reason."

•

Chief Oren Lyons on the long, sad relationship between American Indians and white people: "We've got one of our chiefs who does nothing but take promises."

•

Robert Hildreth, Merrill Lynch executive, asked during an appearance at the Kennedy School of Government to assess the chances of completing Seabrook Station [nuclear power plant]: "If I don't say I'm optimistic, the thing's pretty well finished."

•

The only question or statement from Mike Wallace to

which the Ayatollah Khomeini reacted with any emotion: "Imam, Anwar Sadat. Sadat thinks you're crazy."

•

From David Zweig of Waterloo College, just back from China, on that country's one-child policy: If followed absolutely, it would lead to generations without brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles. It would mean generations of only children, each doted over by two parents and four grandparents. This in a society in which family has been the basis of the social structure.

•

Rod MacFarquhar, Sinologist, told a joke about a Soviet diplomat returning from a trip to China and reporting to the Kremlin: "Comrades, I've seen the future, and I'm afraid it may work."

•

Katharine Graham, former publisher of *The Washington Post*, now head of the Post company, on what it's like to show up regularly on lists of most powerful women in America: "It makes me feel like a weightlifter."

## Coming home to Concord after nine months of adventure

**A**ndy Court, a *Monitor* reporter, returned from the Loudon [N.H.] motorcycle races the week before last and said: "I have loads of anecdotes but really nothing that ties them together." I felt the same way at the outset of this series. I was writing because I am a compulsive writer, but I also wanted to weave the strands of the Nieman year into a single cloth — for myself as well as readers.

Now it is the end of the week, and there is so much I have left out. I studied modern China. I came to understand as never before the troubles in Northern Ireland. I heard Daniel Patrick Moynihan talk about poverty, Zbigniew Brzezinski talk about foreign policy, and Lewis Lehrman talk about himself. I heard Republicans describe the revolution they believe they are leading, and I heard Democrats lament the dissolution of their coalition into a cacophony of interests. I discussed with many of the best journalists in the country the issues facing our profession.

And I left Cambridge wondering how a year out of time prepares one for what comes next. I was not alone in my quandary. After a year of privilege, a year of gulping in knowledge, the Nieman Fellows shared the difficulty of making going back seem like moving ahead.

Several times during the year, Nieman Fellows from the past sighed and told us they remembered their Nieman year as the best year of their lives. I thought each time: That's fine for you,

but what about us? What does that say about the years ahead?

In Concord now, trying to answer that question, all I've learned so far is how Dorothy felt when she got back from Oz. There were faces back home she recognized, even when she couldn't quite place all of them, and people told her they were glad she was back. Unfortunately, the movie ended before we found out how she adjusted to life without ruby slippers.

The world beyond the city limits has never seemed bigger or more complex to me than it does today. Harvard did that, as it has for many people over the centuries. Harvard is a memory now, pleasant and personal. It is also a world unto itself, a world in which not everyone is just passing through.

At one of the first cocktail parties for the Nieman Fellows, a woman introduced her husband to me as Fred Skinner. We chatted for perhaps twenty minutes before I realized I was talking with B. E. Skinner.

On my son Yuri's ninth birthday, he and I were walking to one of the last Nieman events when we crossed paths and exchanged greetings with the unmistakable John Kenneth Galbraith.

Between these two moments I had grown to feel at home at Harvard. Then, of course, it was time to leave. Where, I asked myself, do Concord and the *Monitor* fit in this larger world I now inhabit? In trying to answer that question, it helped to have a group of friends with similar withdrawal symptoms — and with a variety of journalistic experience to share.

I walked along the Charles River one May afternoon with Howard Simons, the Nieman curator. Our conversation, unlike the river, ran freely. At one point Howard worried aloud about finding Fellows from small to medium-sized newspapers with some semblance of independent ownership.

Individuality is an endangered quality among American newspapers. The best of the large newspaper chains often improve the smaller papers they buy, but (and I admit to stretching an analogy), the chains have done for newspapers what McDonald's did for corner hamburger stands.

In the nation's metropolises, the shakeout among daily newspapers has produced less competition but also more firepower for the survivors. There are some fine big papers in the country — emphasis on the big. Ed Chen, a Nieman classmate, works for one of them, *The Los Angeles Times*. As of a couple of months ago, he said, the *Times* employed 1,041 (!) people in its news and editorial operations. Many of the other Nieman fellows also worked in organizations with news staffs of 500 or more.

If the staff sizes of metropolitan newspapers surprised me, the wealth of television blew me away. By way of illustrating the value of Dan Rather, whose news show is a couple of ratings points ahead of the competition, Sid Davis, an NBC television correspondent, told the Nieman fellows that a single rating point in the news hour was worth \$10 million a year. (Why you see so few public affairs programs in prime time: a prime-time rating point is worth \$60 million a year.)

Van Gordon Sauter, a CBS News executive vice president,

*continued on page 25*



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# Social Science in the Media

## Who Reports It and Who Is Reported?

Carol H. Weiss

*Economics is the one social science that journalists understand and have a regular home for — the business section.*

For a number of years I've been fascinated by the amount of social science and the kinds of social science that the mass media report. In newspapers and newsmagazines, I have read analyses of the causes of inflation, research findings about the effect of birth order on children's success, quotes from sociologists about civic apathy and marital breakup. I've wondered how reporters came to select these particular stories out of the vast quantities of social science available and how accurately they were reporting them. In 1982, with my colleague Eleanor Singer, I received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to take a systematic look at these issues. Singer did a content analysis of all stories with social science elements that appeared every third week over a five-month period in nine national media — *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and the ABC, CBS, and NBC television network nightly newscasts. We also included one regional newspaper, *The Boston Globe*.

From the stories identified in the content analysis, I selected two types of stories for our interview study: stories that reported results of social science research (which we call "study" stories) and those that quoted the comments of a social scientist ("quote" stories). In these categories, each week we selected the "big" stories, i.e., stories that gave significant emphasis to the social science content, were longer and/or had more prominent

placement, and dealt with one of the main social sciences rather than a borderline or interdisciplinary field. Most of these stories focused exclusively on social science, but a sizable minority brought in elements of social science to elaborate another theme.

We selected 130 stories that met our criteria and attempted to complete telephone interviews with both the reporter who wrote the story and the social scientist whose work was reported or who was quoted in the story. We completed both interviews of the pair for 127 stories, 80 that reported study results and 47 that quoted a social scientist. Only one reporter and one social scientist declined the interview, and for one story we were unable to identify the reporter who wrote the copy. Over all, cooperation was excellent.

The media in which the stories appeared, despite our valiant efforts to ensure that all ten media were represented in the interview study, were largely the major newspapers, which accounted for most of the stories in the study. Fourteen stories came not from staff reporters but from wire services, syndicated news services, a syndicated columnist, and a Sunday supplement. The box on page 17 shows where stories appeared and where the reporters were located.

From the interviews we have interesting data on who writes stories about social science, their beats, journalistic experience, education, and attitudes toward the social sciences. We also have data on which social scientists turn up in media stories. We learned their fields, education, prior experience with the media, the extent of their satisfaction with the story that had just appeared about their work or words, and the advantages and disadvantages they see in becoming visible in the national media.

### THE VIEW FROM THE NEWSROOM

All the journalists whom we interviewed had just written a story that we considered social science, or at least as having a substantial social science component. One of the earliest surprises was that journalists didn't think of the stories as dealing with social science at all. In our pre-test interviews, we asked

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journalists whether they had written other stories with social science content prior to the one we were interviewing about. Uniformly they were taken aback; some seemed to think that we were talking gibberish. In their minds, the current story was not about social science at all. They were writing about crime or business or politics or education. That they were reporting the results of *research* on the topic or citing the remarks of a *social scientist* on the topic was of little consequence. Uppermost in their mind was the *topic* on which they were reporting. It is the topic of a story that provides the frame of reference for their work.

Social science is not a category to newpeople. They do not think about it as a category and they do not treat it as a category. We dropped all reference to the social sciences from interview questions about reporters' work (although we retained questions about their educational preparation and their general disposition toward the social sciences). But from their comments, we get repeated reminders of how fuzzy their notions of social science are. If social science conjures up any image in their minds, it seems to be something like social psychology. Their initial take is that it deals with personal relationships — on the order of the "relationships" columns that have appeared in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. Sociology is not a clear construct to most reporters either. Like many educated non-social scientists, they see sociology as fuzzy not only around the edges but in the center. Political science has a more clear-cut image, but one that they do not necessarily include under social science on first encounter. Much of the reporting of political science has to do with elections, and most of it is based on polls and surveys. On other political topics, reporters see themselves and their fellows as experts. As Herbert Gans noted in his 1979 book, *Deciding What's News*, journalists are "expected to have one universal specialty: politics."

Economics is the one social science that reporters not only understand (although they don't always think of it as a social science), but also have a regular home for — the business section. Business writers have a closer connection with economists than any other part of the newspaper or newsmagazine has with social scientists of other disciplines. Business was one of the early substantive beats in the press, and reporters in the business sections may come to work with a graduate degree in economics or become highly knowledgeable about economics in the course of their work.

On most subjects with which the media deal, neither the social sciences compositely nor the individual disciplines are salient or relevant. The substantive beats that have emerged over the past fifty years slice the world up into different segments. In our study, we interviewed only one reporter who said his beat was social science.

Specialization in reporting began with assignments to labor, science, and agriculture in the late 1920's. Business and the economy became important after the Great Depression and in the New Deal years. As government grew, reporters were assigned to agency beats, to cover the White House, the Departments of Justice and Defense, the Supreme Court. Agency beats, however, do not call for the same degree of content

specialty, since the reporter is expected to write about everything that happens at the agency from fraud to politics.

The space program spawned the growth of a corps of science reporters in the 1950's. Recent years have witnessed specialties in education, health and medicine, law, and the environment. In the newsmagazines, writers assigned to such back-of-the-book sections as religion and justice may be or become specialists, although competition for space is so keen that such sections do not make it into the magazine every week. Writers who specialize too narrowly limit their chances for appearing in print.

Television has considerably less specialization on staff than have the large newspapers and newsmagazines, with beats largely restricted to science, health, the economy, and ecology. Smaller newspapers, too, are limited in the extent to which they can afford to deploy specialists. Even among the major print media we were interviewing, beats were often defined in very broad terms, and reporters frequently covered stories that seemed remote from their reported specialty.

What is most significant about the growth of specialization in the media for purposes of the current discussion is its lack of fit with the social science disciplines. Except for economics, the media don't divide up the world along the same lines as does the academy. The result of this discrepancy has profound consequences for the reporting of the social sciences: Stories about social science are not covered by a coterie of specialist reporters but by hundreds of different reporters who have little special knowledge about the methods, substance, or theory of the disciplines.

It is sometimes supposed that science writers are the logical people to write about the social sciences. However, in our study, only seven percent of the social science stories about which we interviewed were written by science writers. Two reasons appear to predominate. First is the emphasis on topic to which we have already alluded. If the social science story has to do with reform of the welfare system, neither editor nor reporter would consider a science reporter suitable; the story would fall more readily to someone who covers welfare or politics. A contributing reason for the low visibility of science reporters is their lack of expertise and interest in the "soft" sciences. Some of them seem to have assimilated the norms of the physicists and astronomers with whom they consort and look down on the sponginess of the social sciences, preferring to avoid contact with these low-status fields. Or else they recognize their lack of knowledge. Sharon Dunwoody, in a paper published in 1980, found that none of the seventeen members of the "inner club" of science journalists whom she interviewed professed to have any social science expertise:

Few feel they know enough about social science research techniques to evaluate studies and make news decisions. The typical response is to avoid social science. . . . So what's news to the inner club is *not* likely to be social science.

Writing about the social sciences is dispersed over many different reporters on papers and newsmagazines. The journal-

ists whom we interviewed told us that their regular assignment was:

General assignment	22%
Business/economy	20%
Political news	16%
Social issues, e.g., crime, welfare	16%
Features, e.g., living, behavior, family	8%
Science	7%
Education	5%
Social science	1%
Column	1%
Other	2%
Unclear	2% (N = 127)

What educational preparation did they have for reporting on the social sciences? In general, they were remarkably well educated. Ninety-seven percent were college graduates, and most had attended high-quality schools. Over a third had graduated from Ivy League colleges, with Harvard the leading alma mater (11 graduates) followed by Yale (6). Forty-six percent had done graduate work, and 32 percent held a graduate degree. For 27 percent this was a master's degree, about half of which were in journalism, and for five percent a Ph.D. or professional degree. The leading graduate school by far was Columbia, which awarded eight master's degrees in journalism, five master's degrees in other subjects, and two doctorates. Well over half the journalists had majored in journalism or English literature, and almost a quarter in another of the humanities. Four of them had majored in a natural or biological science. Fourteen people had majored in one of the social sciences.

We asked if they had taken courses in any of the social sciences in college or graduate school. Almost three-quarters indicated that they had. Or to put this statement in more newsworthy style, one-quarter of the reporters who are writing about the social sciences in the major media say they have never taken a social science course. Over half of them took courses in several social science fields, with political science the most popular, followed by economics, sociology, and, much less often mentioned, psychology. In addition, over a quarter reported that they have close friends or relatives who are social scientists.

For most reporters their formal preparation in social science is modest at best. Yet journalists tend to be quick studies. Because they are expected to master a wide variety of fields in quick succession, they learn how to get at the nub of the matter, find appropriate sources for information, and ask questions and probe answers. The journalists on these elite media are a particularly knowledgeable group. Without demonstrated success on local or regional media, most of them would not

## Location of Stories and Location of Journalists

	Number of Stories	
	Appearing in	Reported by
New York Times	42	39
Washington Post	26	20
Wall Street Journal	18	18
Boston Globe	13	7
U.S. News & World Report	9	9
Newsweek	6	6
Time	4	4
NBC	4	3
CBS	3	3
ABC	1	1
Parade (with Sunday Globe)	1	1
AP	—	6
UPI	—	4
Knight-Ridder	—	3
Los Angeles Times	—	1
Chicago Sun-Times	—	1
Jack Anderson	—	1
Total	127	127

have arrived in these positions.

Nor are they novices. Their median length of experience in journalism is sixteen years. Four of them (3 percent) have racked up forty years or more. Only 9 percent report fewer than seven years as journalists.

### Disposition toward social science

Journalism and social science represent alternative modes of discourse for making sense of the social world. Viewed in that light, the two fields can be seen as collateral endeavors or they can be seen as competitive. While they share an interest in the political, economic, and social conditions of the society, their objectives and procedures are divergent.

Journalism focuses on the event, on the personal, the immediate, where social science is concerned with conditions, abstractions, and trends. Journalists strive to be clear and concise and above all, interesting. Social scientists place no particular value on conciseness, assume that what they write is interesting to fellow scholars, and are willing to sacrifice clarity for precision. Perhaps more significant, journalists write to tell millions of people the facts about today, the what of the world. Social scientists write for an expert rather than a lay audience, and they are more intrigued with the why. They take a longer-term view, frame their communication in a more explicitly theoretical perspective, and address a minuscule audience. Journalists tell the news in sporadic, episodic style; if a story isn't new, it isn't news. Social scientists put considerable emphasis on continuity and the cumulation of knowledge.

The objectives of the two fields diverge widely. The media want to inform a vast audience about the events of the world so that people can act intelligently. In order to grab their attention, they cultivate style, drama, and color. The social sciences, although they too usually want to make a contribution to the common weal, place their bets on communicating to colleagues. If they want to justify what they are doing, they will probably suggest that greater knowledge about complex social interrelationships will improve societal capacity for prediction and guidance.

Of course, there are other modes of discourse in currency. Besides journalism and social science, such other generators of worldviews as the law, religion, politics, literary criticism, philosophy, and psychiatry offer alternative perspectives on public affairs. Each has a distinctive language, syntactical structure, taken-for-granted assumptions, and salient questions. Each frames the public discussion in different ways.

In one sense, journalism has an overarching role in the competition, inasmuch as it reports to the general public on developments in the other domains. Journalists ordinarily view the story or public affairs documentary as a comprehensive overview. They may lament the limited opportunity for historical context and probing analysis (the newsmagazines and Sunday sections have a better opportunity in this regard), but they have confidence that they are presenting the salient elements of society quickly, entertainingly, and accessibly for millions of people. It has been rumored that they are impatient with social scientists on several scores: not so much because they question the merit of their scholarship for their own arcane enterprise (although some of them are said to be skeptical on that score, too) as because they believe that social scientists belabor the obvious, cloud their occasional insights in fogs of jargon, and take years to produce a paper that any self-respecting journalist could have written overnight. Or so some journalists say.

Given our concern with the reporting of social science, we were interested in how reporters viewed what some see as a rival form of analysis and reporting on the social world. We asked them whether their general disposition toward the social sciences was positive or negative. Overall, there was a definite tilt toward the positive. Responses to the question were:

Unqualifiedly positive	48%
Fairly positive or positive with some qualification	12%
Mixed, fairly evenly split between pro and con	17%
Neutral	15%
Never gave the subject a thought	1%
More negative than positive, or mostly negative	5%
Other (non-evaluative)	2% (N = 122)

Compared to the responses of such other groups as high government officials, their enthusiasm for the social sciences is tempered. Yet three out of five report themselves as positively disposed, compared to one out of twenty who put themselves on the negative side of the ledger.

When journalists reported their attitude toward the social sciences as positive, most of them did not elaborate. Only a few went further and said such things as these: "Terribly important. . . Social science can contribute to the public good." "I have great respect for them." "They are the most interesting field of study for me." "They have a lot of expertise that I hope they continue to share with people who don't have the opportunity to meet them first hand." "As a journalist and as a human being, I'm glad for their tradition of inquiry." The comments were general and very polite.

It was when they had mixed feelings that reporters became eloquent. Among the comments they gave were these:

A lot of social science research is rather limited and stupid. But some is very fine. I am biased against a lot of statistical research because you can make statistics lie. I am impressed with research that talks to people. I get angry at many social science research papers that are full of jargon and badly written.

I can't categorize it. Some of it is useful. I have to rely on the validity of scientists and eventually learn by experience who and what seems to be responsible.

Sometimes social scientists waste time studying obscure issues. There's a huge gap now between what social scientists are doing and governmental and national concerns.

Social scientists like David Riesman are brilliant, original, perceptive thinkers. But I'm not favorably disposed to the idea that you can measure absolutely anything you set out to measure. . . . I think it's useful and has a lot to say about our society.

I'm a friendly critic.

Several people mentioned their concern about the politi-



cized nature of social science. There is an undercurrent in many of the interviews that somewhere out there an objective truth exists, and the journalists' task is to find it. They are wary of all sources — bureaucratic, political, or social scientific — that they believe try to lead them away from this image of pure and unalloyed truth. One person said about social science: "I'm skeptical. Certain people and certain research is of consequence. Some is politicized." Another, who reported herself "both positive and negative," said: "I value the information but I'm wary of its political use." Another concluded: "Social science information has to be checked to be respected."

If there is one response that captures the range of positive and negative elements in journalists' views, it may be this one:

Positive. Well, let me amend that. . . Positive, but keeping my hands on my wallet. Social science research is essential to understanding why, what, and how we do things. . . . But there are more people in social science more interested in empire building than an honest quest for the truth. So you have to evaluate the information while looking at it. I view social science as essential. But you have to evaluate the information carefully and present it in such a way that it is free of polemic and is fair. Researchers are in a position to ride a variety of hobbyhorses. Just as scientists need to evaluate the information that's produced and received, journalists do also. But I wouldn't be writing about social scientists if I didn't feel positively about them.

Several scholars have become concerned about the absence of this kind of healthy skepticism in reporting about the natural and biological sciences. June Goodfield and Dorothy Nilkin in 1984 reported that science writers accept too much scientific research on faith and fail to subject it to appropriate scrutiny. They tend to portray scientists as impartial arbiters and solvers of the nation's problems, rather than as fallible human beings who differ among themselves and create problems as well as solve them. About the social sciences, Philip Meyer [NF '67] warned journalists almost two decades ago that "newspapers must learn to recognize" social science that is "a few data and a lot of 'interpretation'. . . , the absence of true connection between the data and the interpretation. . . hidden by academic jargon. . . This task, separating the scientific from the spurious, is not being done today," Meyer wrote in *Nieman Reports* in 1967. Among today's reporters of social science, at least an articulate minority present themselves as skeptical enough to want to check social science evidence with concern and care.

However, when it came to actually writing a story on social science research, a minority of reporters — one in five — actually checked the study report with other social scientists before accepting the conclusions.

We asked reporters about the audience they had in mind when they wrote the story with social science content. Robert Darnton, in a 1975 piece for *Daedalus*, noted that journalists do not have a clear image of their readers but tend to write on the assumption that what interests them and their fellow reporters will interest the public. Other researchers have observed that journalists rarely pay attention to the audience re-

search conducted for the advertising department. They display little curiosity about the interests of readers and viewers, but are concerned instead about the respect of their colleagues. Our question in our study about the story the journalists interviewed had just written said that we assumed it was important for the story to satisfy their own criteria and those of their editors. "How important was it for the story also to satisfy the criteria of the following audiences: other journalists? the average reader?"

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Social scientists assume that what they write is interesting to fellow scholars, and are willing to sacrifice clarity for precision.

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the informed reader? the social scientist [whom you quoted] [who did the study]? other social scientists?"

Satisfying the average reader and the informed reader were overwhelmingly endorsed. Almost 90 percent said that serving the average reader was the name of the game. More than 80 percent said that they aimed to appeal to the informed reader, with a number noting that their readers are informed readers. These are the acknowledged norms of the media.

Overwhelmingly they disavowed any interest in pleasing fellow journalists. This was the one audience of the five mentioned that collected the largest percentage of categorically "not important" responses, outstripping even social scientists in irrelevance. Despite observers' contention that reporters write to win the respect of their fellows, our respondents rejected the notion with some intensity. From what they said, they may have been objecting to the idea that journalism has no clear professional standards and that criteria have to be negotiated on a person-by-person basis. "Satisfying the criteria of other journalists" might have seemed to suggest that journalism lacks a professional code or that they have not internalized the professional code. In all events, more than 60 percent said that other journalists were "not important," a quarter gave such other answers as "If I satisfy myself and my editor, I'm satisfying other journalists," or "I never think about them." One in six said that they accorded some degree of importance to their fellows' opinions.

Satisfying the criteria of the social scientist mentioned in the story was a sticky issue. Very few reporters (9 percent) said that this was important to do. Half said that what was important was to be accurate; how the social scientist felt about the story was irrelevant. Some gave other responses, such as that they don't know what social scientists' criteria are or they don't think about their criteria. One journalist said, "His criteria probably would be that you couldn't tell the story in less than five thousand words. I'm sure that I don't satisfy any social

scientist at all." A pervasive subtext was that they are not in business to please the social scientist or promote his interests. Their job is to write a clear accurate story.

As for the community of social scientists, reporters rejected them as an audience deserving special consideration, too. Some said again that it was important to be accurate and not misrepresent social science; a few others said that they want other social scientists to understand the story. But by a wide margin

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Obviously most of the people from whom journalists get information are not social scientists but officials, politicians, businessmen, football coaches.

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they said that they were not concerned with whatever other criteria it would take to satisfy social scientists. Worrying about the niceties that absorb social scientists is not their business.

Obviously most of the people from whom journalists get information are not social scientists but officials, politicians, businessmen, football coaches. "Satisfying the criteria" of such sources of news would usually mean presenting them in the best possible light. "Satisfying social scientists" sounds like much the same sort of promotion. It is small wonder that the tendency of journalists is to disdain any interest in such an endeavor. Only a small minority were willing to consider that the social science disciplines have any special norms other than accuracy that are worthy of attention.

We asked the reporters what they saw as the most important criteria for a story such as the one they had just written. They volunteered five main answers. In order of frequency, they were: accuracy (64 percent), clarity (51 percent), interest (44 percent), helpfulness to readers (20 percent), and balance (15 percent). Help to readers was mentioned only in connection with stories on research results, e.g., a study on the success rates of different stop-smoking programs. Balance was valued more in stories that quoted the remarks of social scientists, where quoting a knowledgeable expert gave perspective to the report. These responses capture journalistic priorities in writing stories with (and no doubt without) social science content, counterposed to any concern with the criteria of particular groups of readers.

## THE VIEW FROM SOCIAL SCIENCE

A more mellifluous title for this section would be "The View From The Academy," but by no means all of the social scientists who appeared in the media came from universities. Among the 127 social scientists in the interview study, 55 per-

cent held university positions — 45 percent in academic departments and 10 percent in university research institutes. Recall that the selection rules for drawing stories on which to interview emphasized research studies, mainstream social science disciplines, and "big" stories. As a consequence, there is a much larger proportion of university social scientists in the interview study than in the total sample.

Who are the social scientists whose research was reported in the media and whose comments were included in stories?

- ▶ 80 percent are men
- ▶ 70 percent Ph.D.s, 6 percent M.D.s, 2 percent Ed.D.s
- ▶ 34 percent are economists
- ▶ 23 percent psychologists
- ▶ 18 percent sociologists/anthropologists/demographers
- ▶ 12 percent political scientists/policy analysts
- ▶ 4 percent epidemiologists, behavioral medicine
- ▶ 10 percent other
- ▶ 45 percent in university departments, 10 percent in university research institutes
- ▶ 21 percent in unaffiliated research organizations (10 percent nonprofit, 11 percent profit)
- ▶ 19 percent in government, 5 percent other

That economists should constitute the largest segment of social scientists is not surprising. This was a time when issues of inflation, government budget cutting, unemployment, and productivity dominated the media agenda. All the newspapers and newsmagazines have a business section, and *The Wall Street Journal* is devoted to business. It has long been a tradition in business reporting to seek the opinions of economists — particularly their forecasts of future conditions. In fact, economists made up a larger fraction of quoted experts (appearing in 45 percent of the quote stories) than of social scientists associated with studies (29 percent).

Social scientists who appeared in the media because they had conducted a research study differed from those whom reporters sought out for their comments on a story. When the reporter took the initiative and approached the social scientists for an opinion, s/he was more likely to go to a university department, to a tenured professor, and to an economist. (See box.)

A brief note on the twenty-six women. Twenty were in the media because of research they had conducted. Ten of them held the Ph.D. and one had an Ed.D., making 42 percent with doctorates, compared to 87 percent of the men who had Ph.D., Ed.D., or M.D. degrees. Forty-six percent of the women worked in government, compared to 18 percent of the men. Twenty-seven percent of the women worked in universities, compared to 63 percent of the men. Twenty-seven percent of the women held research positions, compared with 19 percent of the men.



## Social Scientists in Media Stories

	Report of Study	Quoted Remarks
In university department	35%	64%
Tenured professor	30%	55%
Hold Ph.D.	61%	85%
Economist	29%	45%
Psychologist	24%	15% (n.s.)*
Male	75%	87% (n.s.)*

\*The difference is not statistically significant.

Thus, they were much more likely to be in government, and less likely to be in universities and to have doctoral degrees.

Most of the social scientists had been mentioned in the mass media previously. By the time they made it to the elite media, they had been through the bush leagues of local and regional newspapers and radio, and most had already become visible in the national media. This was particularly true for those who were quoted — for none of whom was this a first or even second media appearance. More than half the quoted social scientists (57 percent) had been mentioned in the media more than twenty times before, including mentions in one or more of the national media that we were following.

Those whose *studies* were reported were much less likely to be media “stars.” For eighteen of them (23 percent), this was their first appearance in any mass media, and for seven more (9 percent), this was a second experience. At the other extreme, twelve authors of studies (15 percent) had been reported about more than twenty times earlier (although this is a far cry from the 57 percent in this category for quoted social scientists). When study authors had had prior media exposure, it was likely to have included the national media; but eight people (15 percent of those whose studies had been reported previously) had been reported only in local or regional media.

Since so many had appeared in the press frequently, we were interested in knowing whether they specialized in their own relatively narrow field of expertise or whether they were what Arthur Herzog has called “anything authorities.” Rae Goodell wrote the book, *The Visible Scientists*, about science celebrities who are willing to make pronouncements on a wide range of scientific, science-policy, and even political issues. By virtue of their eminence in science and their color and style, they are called upon by journalists to “give a scientific point of view” on almost any subject under the sun.

We found almost nobody with such free-wheeling proclivities among the social scientists whom we interviewed. When asked to describe the subjects of earlier news stories in which

they had appeared, most of them reported sticking fairly closely to their last. Eighty-three percent said that all their earlier stories had dealt with the same general field as the current story; in fact, 14 percent had been mentioned only in connection with the identical topic. On the other hand, 5 percent had previously appeared in the media in connection with a different field and 7 percent in connection with both the same and different fields. (For 5 percent of respondents, the information was too sketchy to tell.)

When they had ranged over several subjects, several people noted that they had done research on each of them. One social scientist from a large for-profit survey organization had had studies reported on newspaper readership and supermarket shopping. A social psychologist had seen his work reported on obedience to authority, quality of life in different cities, and violation of rules of queue behavior. A social scientist quoted on the social effects of recession had been quoted earlier about legal services; he formerly ran a legal services program.

Only one or two people in our sample seemed ready to comment on a wide array of subjects on which they did not describe the source of their special expertise — and even they may have known more than they told us. One is an economist who has appeared in the media about a wide range of economic subjects, and the other is a psychologist who has discussed subjects as diverse as airline safety, Santa Claus, and children’s swearing.

### Opinions on media reporting of social science

We asked the social scientists, “Do you think that news reporting of social science is generally accurate or not?” More of them gave answers on the “accurate” side of the ledger (35 percent) than said “inaccurate” (23 percent), but many found it difficult to generalize or to answer the question at all. The overall impression is one of skepticism. The responses were:

Accurate	8%
Mostly accurate	11%
Accurate considering media constraints	16%
A great deal of variation, difficult to generalize	17%
Mostly inaccurate	23%
Other	6%
Can't say	17%
Unclear	2% (N = 127)

This type of mixed review seems typical of the corridor gossip in places where social scientists gather. It is also in line with many of the anecdotes and analyses that have appeared in social science publications.

Many respondents made interesting comments about the state of reporting. Some of them were just as critical of social scientists as of journalists. A number were concerned more about what wasn't reported than about the accuracy of what was. Among the more intriguing comments were these:

► What it [the media] does look at is generally accurate. . . . The issue is what is reported and what isn't, because then you get inadequacies. . . .

► Not very accurate. Reporters attribute expertise too easily. The solution is to account more modestly with qualifications, because truth is often rather slippery.

► Generally if there's a skilled person doing the reporting, I've been impressed by the intelligent consideration given to the material by the person, if they've done some background preparation.

► What needs work is that the media pick up one side, the controversial side, as *the* results and not a portion of the results.

► I tend to trust most reporters, as I think they tend to be accurate. More often than not, I think social scientists are to blame for unclear or bad reportage.

► My concern is not accuracy, but the selection of which stories they choose to report. That's true of all news, not just social science. They gear stories to their readership. A generally vaguely liberal paper cites generally vaguely liberal studies. Accuracy is a relatively trivial concern of mine compared with a more representative selection of all the important findings available.

► I don't think findings in sociology are terribly important. Over the last twenty years, they've contradicted each other every five years. They are more contradictory than the press.

We also asked social scientists their judgments of the story in which they had just appeared. Here the responses were considerably different. Asked whether the story in which they figured was accurate, they said:

Yes, accurate	60%
Mostly accurate (minor error, but basically satisfied)	17%
Accurate considering media constraints (e.g., time, space)	9%
Left out information or put in misleading context (no error mentioned, but not satisfied)	6%
Major error, mostly wrong	8% (N = 127)

There is a remarkable — and unexpected — endorsement of media accuracy. Eighty-six percent of social scientists whose work or comments had just appeared said that they were basically satisfied with the reporting. Social scientists who were quoted were more satisfied than those whose study was reported. Seventy percent of the social scientists quoted in a story said unqualifiedly that the article was accurate, compared to 54 percent of study authors. Reporting the results of a study is a complex undertaking, and there are more opportunities for error.

We asked social scientists whether the emphasis in the news story was appropriate. They were just about as satisfied on this score. Eighty-one percent said that the emphasis was satisfactory, or satisfactory considering media constraints. Eight percent said that it was a matter of judgment, suggesting that they would have preferred a different emphasis although the reporter's choice was okay. Only 11 percent said that the story emphasized minor points or omitted major points or was distorted. Again, people whose statements were quoted were happier with the news account: 85 percent of them unqualifiedly responded that the emphasis in the story was appropriate, compared to 60 percent of social scientists whose study was reported.

The third question about satisfaction with the story asked whether any essential things had been omitted from the story. Given the brevity of most news articles, this is a particularly stringent indicator of satisfaction. Almost everyone (reporters included) would like more space devoted to their work than the cruel world allows. Although they were not as satisfied with completeness as they were accuracy and emphasis, even here most social scientists were relatively contented. Among the people quoted in a story, 40 percent said nothing important had been left out. Over a quarter (27 percent) said they didn't remember or couldn't identify anything specific. Many had talked to the reporter for a long time and had discussed many things, but nothing leaped to mind as "omitted." A third (33 percent) said that some important things *had* failed to make

their way into the story.

Among the research investigators, 42 percent said that nothing essential had been omitted. Another 23 percent said the story omitted a good deal but gave the most important elements of the study. Five percent said the story left out some things that were important in the study but not relevant to the story that the journalist was writing. Another 5 percent said that the study was not the focus of the story but was used as an ancillary reference. One quarter (25 percent) indicated that there were important omissions.

The proof of the pudding is the willingness to eat the pudding again. We asked social scientists whether they would be willing to cooperate with the media in the future. Only one person said probably not. Three-quarters (76 percent) said yes without any qualifications; 11 percent said yes, it's part of my job (many of these were social scientists in government positions); 7 percent said they'd be willing to cooperate but they would be more careful; 5 percent said they would if they had time (several indicating that when reporters descend, they often come in droves, and answering all the calls can consume days). Clearly experience with the media was satisfactory enough to encourage repetition.

Social scientists who have appeared in the news are considerably more positive about the media's handling of the story than the general public. In a poll conducted by the Gallup Organization for *Newsweek* in October 1984, one question asked, "What has been your experience: in things you have been involved with or know about personally, have the media got the facts straight, or have they been inaccurate?" Responses were: facts straight 46 percent, inaccurate 37 percent, don't know 17 percent. Asked to put themselves in a position analogous to that of our social scientists — inside knowledge of the situation, the public gives the media a much narrower margin of confidence. Still the public's global ratings of media accuracy are high. When we look at general judgments of the three categories of media most similar to those in our inquiry, "nationally influential newspapers," "news magazines" and "network television news," we find that 78 percent of the public says the newspapers and newsmagazines are accurate and 81 percent says television is accurate.

Satisfied as most social scientists were with reportage, they still had complaints. For the social scientists whose *study* received media coverage, we asked whether the reporter had added any interpretation of his/her own. In 29 percent of the cases, they said that the reporter had done so. Asked whether the reporter's interpretation of the study was reasonable, only 4 percent of this group thought that it was.

The question of whether reporters should add their own conclusions or implications was raised in a study about science news reported in *Journalism Quarterly* in 1979. Michael Ryan asked both journalists and scientists whether they agreed with the statement, "A science writer should not interpret a scientist's technical conclusions." Journalists and scientists came down on different sides, with scientists agreeing and journalists disagreeing. Apparently, the social scientists in our study would agree with Ryan's scientists — and the statement.

We asked social scientists what they would have liked to see different in the story. Forty-eight percent said nothing, it was fine as it was. Six percent quibbled about a minor thing — mention of a co-author, proper use of a technical term, or such. Thirty-eight percent wished that the story had been substantively different, including those who wanted more of the study's findings or more of what they said included. Seven percent said they would have liked a very different story. The social

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Almost everyone (reporters included) would like more space devoted to their work than the cruel world allows.

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scientists who were quoted were much more satisfied here again. Sixty-six percent said they wanted nothing different (compared to 37 percent of study authors) and none of them yearned for a markedly different story (compared to 11 percent of study authors).

During the course of the interview, the social scientists voiced complaints about the story in response to a number of different questions. We aggregated all the dissatisfactions and coded them. The most common complaint was oversimplification: 35 percent of the social scientists, at one time or another in the interview, indicated that the story had oversimplified their meaning. Other complaints were much less common. Five percent complained about a misleading headline, and 4 percent (five people) charged the reporter with playing up sensational aspects of their work.

So there are complaints. Yet over all, it is a remarkably positive picture. When talking about the stories in which they figure, the overwhelming majority of social scientists are satisfied.

The contrast with their views of "reporting of social science in general" is striking. Studies of science reporting have found very similar attitudes among natural scientists. They have jaundiced views of science reporting in general, but they like the stories about their own work.

Several surveys of public attitudes show similar patterns of response. People tend to be dissatisfied with public schools in general, hospital care in general, Congress in general, but they report considerable satisfaction with the public school attended by their own child, their own experience with hospital care, and their own Congressperson. Those who have personal connection, experience, or knowledge of a social institution rate it more highly than does the general public.

It is possible that such answers reflect pluralistic ignorance, an unawareness that other people are satisfied, too. Each individual may imagine that his/her experience is unusual, and that other people are badly served by schools, hospitals, Congress, and the media. Ignorant of the true state of affairs, they

may discredit their own satisfactory experience. Another possible explanation is that they are expressing discontent with structural features of the system, rather than its adequacy one case at a time.

Nicholas Brady, a former Republican senator, once remarked about the Congress, "The people here are of a higher caliber than I imagined in my fondest dreams. But the place doesn't work very well." (*The New York Times*, June 29, 1984)

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## Reporters are concerned with interest, readability, and brevity, and cannot be held accountable to social science norms.

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In the case of media reporting, we have already seen a few social scientists' remarks that suggest the latter point of view: each story may be fine, but the overall picture that the media present of the social sciences is incomplete or misleading.

Another possible reason for the greater satisfaction with the story about their own work is the particular media that we examined. We drew stories from the major national news organizations, the elite media of the country, and it is possible that other newspapers and magazines do a more slipshod job. We do not have any direct evidence on this point, but two questions in the interview provide indirect evidence that this may be only marginally true. We asked social scientists about their previous experiences with the press, and those who had been covered before reported slightly lower levels of satisfaction for those earlier encounters. About 60 percent said that they had been satisfied; another 10 percent said coverage had varied but tended to be good; 21 percent reported good and bad experiences in roughly equal balance; 10 percent said that bad experiences predominated or that they had been totally dissatisfied. Although many of the previous stories were in the same national media that we were following, the social scientists had been also covered by regional and local papers and radio.

When they explicitly compared the current story with their earlier coverage, almost half of the social scientists (48 percent) reported the same degree of satisfaction. Over a third (37 percent) said that this story was better, and 14 percent said it was worse. It appears that the elite media may do a slightly more responsible job at reporting social science than the press generally.

Another possible explanation for social scientists' pleasure with the press is that they have modest expectations for what the press can and cannot do. They may not expect the same attention to detail, definitions, and qualifications, or the same degree of idea development that would be appropriate in a scholarly article. The interviews show that many of them indeed have a realistic appreciation of the limits of the media as a chan-

nel for communicating social science. As already noted, a quarter of them qualified their answers to the question about the story's accuracy by mentioning their awareness of media constraints on space and time. Elsewhere in the interview, too, many of them acknowledged that reporters have different performance norms from social scientists. Reporters, some of them say, are concerned with interest, readability, and brevity, and cannot be held accountable to social science norms. Therefore, they do not necessarily apply stringent standards in assessing reporters' performance.

We considered another possible reason for social scientists' satisfaction — the advantages they derive from media attention. In fact, an unexpectedly large proportion of them report that mention in the media does advance their professional careers. This is just as true for university faculty as for people in research institutes, private firms, or government. Well over half of the sample (57 percent) say that media attention is an unalloyed advantage. Another one quarter say it has both advantages and disadvantages. Only 3 percent (four people) cite disadvantages alone. For one social scientist in six (16 percent), coverage in the media reportedly has no effect on their careers.

What are the advantages? Of the 104 people who mention advantages, 70 percent say that press coverage is a help in getting promoted. People in universities are as likely to mention promotion as people in other organizations. Over two in five (43 percent) say that the media are an avenue for getting their message to the public. Many social scientists believe that their work can contribute to public policy or to people's private lives, and they welcome an opportunity to make that work known. A quarter (26 percent) say that publicity is good for their organization; social scientists in for-profit organizations are significantly more likely than others to cite organizational advantages. A fifth of the sample (22 percent) are candid enough to report that attention is good for their ego. A like number (21 percent) say that media coverage is an aid in getting research funding; their names are known to funding agencies.

Many fewer social scientists reported disadvantages. Of the thirty-two people who did, over half (53 percent) mentioned the likelihood of being distorted by the media. The only other complaint registered with any frequency (16 percent) was the image that was conveyed of not being a serious scholar.

It seemed possible that social scientists' appreciation of the advantages of media coverage might color their satisfaction with the stories in which they appear. However, there is no statistical relationship between the two sets of responses. Those who mentioned the benefits of reportage were not more likely to rate the current story highly. So it is not the benefits they reap that gives their ratings of the story a rosy glow.

There may be a further explanation for social scientists' satisfaction with the media. Social scientists frequently covered by the press may develop expertise in dealing with reporters. They may learn how to write good short summaries of their work or make their points clearly and vividly in conversation. They may become adept at sending out news releases that are embargoed for several days before publication is allowed, so that reporters have time to read and talk to them and under-



stand the subject. They may get clever at sitting before television cameras and making the important point over and over again with the necessary qualifier included in every sentence, so that no clip will misrepresent their message. One or another of our respondents recommended each of these strategies.

It seems reasonable to think that knowing the media ropes would induce satisfaction. But in our analysis, we found no significant relationship between the amount of media exposure that social scientists had previously had and their satisfaction with the current story. Simply having some control over the story may be a factor. Social scientists have the chance to write or review the press releases about their own work and they can manage their own contacts with reporters, whereas they have no control over media reporting "in general." The ability to influence the shaping of a story may yield a dividend of satisfaction. But over all, it would appear that the most important factors are: 1) acknowledgment of the constraints within which the media work and correspondingly modest expectations for their performance, and 2) the distinction between satisfaction with reporting one story at a time and lower levels of enthusiasm for the overall pattern of social science reporting.

Finally, let us note that the opinions we report are those of social scientists who recently have been covered in the news. Other social scientists who have had bruising experiences with the press or whose distrust of the press is profound may avoid contact with the media and thus not be here to voice their views. Our data derive from social scientists who were willing to be covered.

### Is coverage in the media related to recognition within social science?

Eleanor Singer investigated another facet of the social scientists who appeared in the stories on which we interviewed: the extent to which their work was recognized within social science. The question addressed is: Do the media go to social scientists who are eminent in the disciplines or to social scientists whose work is not frequently cited by their colleagues?

Singer collected the number of citations to each social scientist's work, as listed in the 1981 volume of the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI). This Index lists every reference to each person's books and papers in the scientific periodical literature over the given period, and 1981 was the year immediately preceding the media stories. In any one year, over half of all social scientists are not cited at all. The mean number of citations in 1981 for social scientists with any citations was 4.28. Of the 127 social scientists in the interview study, 80 percent were cited in the 1981 SSCI. Those who were cited received an average of 25.5 references. (Even if we include the 25 people with no citations, the average is 20.5.)

Clearly the media-reported social scientists were much more likely to be cited by their peers in the academic literature, and they received a significantly higher average number of citations, six times as many, as the usual social scientist whose work was cited.

Even though journalists are not experts on social science subfields or particularly interested in research quality, their ordinary newswork procedures tend to lead them to social scientists respected in the disciplines.

In sum, our systematic look at how social science is reported revealed a surprising degree of satisfaction among social scientists with stories about their work. The most common complaints — oversimplification and omission — seem almost inevitable given the constraints of news work. Another of our findings, that journalists hold relatively favorable views of social science, suggest that they may be willing to work at reducing the more extreme failings on both of these grounds.

But, if the reporting of social science on a story by story basis looks unexpectedly good, overall patterns of reporting seem less satisfactory. Because journalists report only a tiny fraction of available social science, because their sources of information about social science are relatively haphazard, and because they select social science on the basis of journalistic rather than social science criteria, they give social science a journalistic spin as they transform it into "news." Thus the media remain a limited and chancy channel for getting social science messages to the public. ■

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## A Year at Harvard . . .

*continued from page 14*

told us that CBS News employed 1,500 people, "a fair number of them making more than \$1 million a year," and they're difficult to manage, especially considering "the day-to-day horse-- of egos."

That is not a problem at the *Monitor*. The *Monitor* employs 28 journalists working their tails off for un-metropolitan salaries. The *Monitor* also has a much more direct and personal relationship with its readers. And I, as editor, revel in the abilities and hopes of the paper's staff to make that relationship one of trust and caring.

At the end of my Nieman year I was no closer than at the beginning to deciding about the rest of my life, but I realized that I still liked what I was doing. I liked working for a paper where, as a matter of course, Bob Hohler turned the death of a quiet young bicyclist into a touching front-page story, where Dick Mertens saw in the Class of '85 not a routine story but a set of personal points of view worth gathering and recording, where the editor is still expected to run thank-you notes in the letters column.

A year at Harvard did not, in other words, make bigger necessarily seem better. I know what they say about small-town people being drawn like moths to big-city lights, but right now it feels good to be home. ■

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# American Television News

Samuel Rachlin

*Are the day's events, like dog food and panty hose, prepackaged for easy use?*

American television news remains, for the most part, a scandal. I think it is safe to say that most Americans get their news from television. Only a fraction of the population, the happy few, get their daily information from the best newspapers and magazines in the country. The vast majority is left with the evening news, the morning shows, and the local news on their television sets.

These people get, if not an entirely distorted picture, then at least a highly fragmented and simplified picture of the world, one with almost a synthetic quality, caused by the commercial slot principle that determines form and content of the news programs.

More clearly than during my other visits to this country, I now realize that a key to understanding American society is consumption — consumption of everything from food and lasting consumer goods to information and culture. There is an incredible selection and choice of everything, and, since there are

more low- than high-quality products, it is not surprising that it is easier to choose some of the cheap, mass-produced junk whether it is food, consumer goods, or television programs.

You can easily get the impression that Americans constantly are involved in the process of consuming their surroundings, confirming thereby their own existence.

For an outsider, it is also easy to conclude that reality in the United States to a large extent has been taken over by the world of advertisements which seem to determine the standards, goals, and values that guide Americans in their daily lives.

The ads and commercials accompany you everywhere from morning to night, telling you what to eat, what to wear and drive, and how to stay healthy, fit, and happy. Everything comes and goes — wars, disasters, presidential campaigns, summits, seasons — except commercials. They are the most stable and constant factor of American life. There always will be a commercial break that will confirm that everything is the same as always, offering you stability, continuity, and safety.

Since the commercials punctuate the news shows, they can not avoid having an effect on the programs — a devastating effect in my view.

Basic to creating and presenting a commercial is that the message be brief, clear, and communicate smoothly and easily. Since airtime is so extremely expensive, one of the most characteristic features of the commercial is speed. Gen-

erations of Americans have been brought up accustomed to receiving and storing enormous amounts of information, visual and verbal, within seconds. A commercial is a lightning bombardment on the sensitive human mind.

Television news producers in the United States have adopted the philosophy and laws of the commercial slot. They are running against the clock and within their 22 minutes every evening they have to have it all. They, too, create slick segments of information. The speed and composition of the commercial to a large extent also dictates how the news story must be made. After a fancy, shiny, and speedy commercial, you cannot present your viewers with a long, slow story that is executed in a completely different style and a different television language. You have to follow the style and pace of the commercial — otherwise you will lose your viewers.

The underlying fear of all television producers and editors is generated by the switch-to-another-channel syndrome. You must keep your viewers in a tight grip, and not give them a chance of jumping to another channel. So you must keep their attention, give them promises of more to come, and tempt them to stay on. That is apparently why some anchors sign off by saying: "Thank you for being with us" — in other words, thank you for not defecting to the competition. Behind this fear is the simple fact that if viewers desert, the ratings will go down, and the final and frightening results may be that the anchor person is out of a job.

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One other consequence of the television commercial is its neutralizing effect. After some horrifying pictures of the famine in Ethiopia, the following commercial will dull many viewers into not worrying, because this does not really affect their own world of pizzas, hamburgers, and various pet foods.

The interaction between the commercial and the news story leads to several different consequences. One is that the news program grinds information, data, events, and people into minced meat that can be served and digested easily and smoothly without too much upset, clinically clean, nicely packed, and wrapped. Thereby the news stories acquire a quality that seems to be as synthetic as some of the products offered in the commercials. Just note what happens to interviews on the evening news. Most often, interviewees do not appear as normal, thinking human beings, but as parrots uttering a few words in a flash and disappearing before any evaluation of what was said. Sentences and thoughts are mercilessly chopped up and served as slices of documentation and proof, slices of the real world. The reality gets chopped up this way by the television newsmen with chunks of information flying through the air, but it is all organized and presented in such a manner that it leaves the viewers with the impression of having been informed of the state of the world on any particular day. That is to a large extent a deceptive impression.

You can credit the news producers for being highly professional in using the television medium and presenting the news in a charming and straightforward way that can seem temptingly personal and convincing. But this is only part of the television illusion. It is much harder to credit the television news programs for penetrating the events and giving the viewers something more than just a superficial glimpse of reality. There is simply no time for anything else under commercial constraints.

A lot of attention and energy is spent on the form to create an artificial atmosphere that will make the viewers feel good. It sounds very authoritative, very credible, and very convincing when the final product is presented to the viewers

with the anchor people as glamorous news royalty, with the newsrooms as their fiefdoms, and the reporters and correspondents as their knights and

society granting access and distribution of information.

An enormous responsibility rests with those who take care of this part of the

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The U.S. public is constantly involved in the process of consuming its surroundings, confirming thereby its own existence.

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squires, always ready to go where they are most needed, always in the hot spot with their eternal trench coats, their presumptuous, serious faces, the deep voices, and final statements. If there is no spot hot enough, the king or queen and their army are always ready to create an event themselves.

I keep wondering how American television journalists can accept working under such conditions in light of their high ethical standards and their constant awareness of conflict of interest. They sit on one of the nerves of the democratic

American media world, but unfortunately they seem to be more concerned about ratings, that is dollars, than journalistic quality and integrity. This leads to a waste of resources, time, and talent in the name of the prepacked news products whose major criteria increasingly seem to be their entertainment value. News has become an endangered species on American television. If this trend continues, it will become still more difficult to distinguish between Dan Rather and ET (that's *Entertainment Tonight*). And if that's the way it is, it is just too bad. ■

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# AIRLIFT

Carol Rissman

*Operation Moses: the story of an exodus that collapsed.*

In January 1985, publicity killed Operation Moses. Thousands of Ethiopian Jews, the victims of drought, war, and oppression, had trekked to refugee camps in the Sudan, the staging area for a covert effort to relocate the Ethiopians permanently in Israel, a country they claim to have left twenty centuries ago.

The Ethiopian Jews were hostage to regional politics. Their removal by Israel, an enemy of their government, would likely be accomplished only in secret. Then-Sudanese President Gaafar Nimeiri was no friend of Ethiopia's either, and he closed his eyes to the wholesale transfer of Ethiopian citizens via his country. Any publicity about Nimeiri's cooperation with "the Zionist entity" would certainly embarrass him (at the least) among his Arab brothers.

When the Israeli government itself blew the cover off Operation Moses on January 4, what was feared happened: the mission collapsed. But the press, particularly the American Jewish newspa-

pers which printed the first reports of the effort, was accused of starting a chain of events that led to the cancellation.

As in other hostage situations, it was clear to the press that publicity could wreck the operation and jeopardize hundreds of lives; none plead innocence. But the charge that newspapers broke the story is unwarranted. While representatives of the U.S. and Israeli governments and American Jewish organizations were successfully lobbying the press for a news blackout, details of the mission were being revealed in a large-scale and very public fundraising campaign. The United Jewish Appeal, an American organization that raises money for Israeli social services, placed ads in Jewish weeklies soliciting for the estimated \$100 million cost of Operation Moses. Those ads revealed details which reporters were being asked to withhold.

On November 20, 1984, the World Zionist Organization disseminated a press release quoting the remarks of Leon Dulzin, chairman of the World Zionist Executive and of Israel's Jewish Agency, responsible for refugee absorption.

"While I am not free to discuss it publicly," the WZO press release quotes Dulzin as saying to a meeting of Jewish community leaders in Toronto, ". . . one of the ancient tribes of Israel is due to return to its homeland." The press release identified that tribe as the Jews of Ethiopia.

Once the press release was out, pursuing the story became more a matter of conscience than of journalistic responsi-

bility. Despite the invitation to print represented by the press release, most of the Jewish media deliberately chose to withhold the story.

*New York Jewish Week* did not. The *Jewish Week* became the first U.S. newspaper to print the story. Editor David Gross says he was not worried about the security of Operation Moses.

"We thought it was more than safe," Gross says. The WZO press release "was a clear signal to me that this (publicity) was what was desired."

In a front-page story on November 23, the *New York Jewish Week* announced that a rescue mission was planned. (Subsequent accounts report the operation had already begun by that time.) The article identified the tribe as Ethiopian Jews and speculated that an airlift was likely. But the report did not reveal some of what were considered the most compromising details: the staging area, cooperating countries, or the route the refugees were taking to Israel.

Two weeks later, on December 6, the *Washington (D.C.) Jewish Week*, independent of New York's weekly, printed a front-page story headlined: "The Ethiopian Exodus Has Begun." Acknowledging risk, the newspaper editorialized: "Our obligation to inform the public and our concern with the continuation of the exodus. . . are in sharp contrast as we go to press."

*Washington Jewish Week* editor Charles Fenyvesi says, "We argued back and forth for several days whether to print the story." Fenyvesi worried that he would lose his lead to a bigger news

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Boston University Photo Service

organization. "We thought it would break in the national media at any moment. We saw no reason to hold back after the story appeared in the *New York Jewish Week*."

The major national media were juggling the same questions of conscience and responsibility. *The Boston Globe* had its story of the mission in the can, according to then-Foreign Editor H.D.S. Greenway. Greenway says he was waiting for the green light to go ahead from U.S. or Israeli government sources, or for the story to break in an outlet bigger than the Jewish weeklies.

The big national break came on December 11, when *The New York Times* announced in a front-page article, "Airlift to Israel Reported Taking Thousands of Jews From Ethiopia." According to Foreign Editor Warren Hoge, the publication of the *Washington Jewish Week* story was crucial in getting confirmation of an earlier off-the-record tip. *The New York Times* article ended with an unusual reference to the *Washington Jewish Week's* "primary front-page story." Hoge admits the attribution was partly in anticipation of accusations the *Times* broke the silence. *The Boston Globe* and *The Los Angeles Times* followed with their own coverage of the mission a day later. (The story seems to have fallen through the cracks at *The Washington Post* because of changes in editorial assignments. It wasn't until January that the *Post* ran its first report on the resettlement.)

The secret was out. "Without a doubt, everybody (in the Israeli refugee organization) held their breath," explains Shafer Stollman, deputy press spokesman for the Jewish Agency. In spite of the publicity in the United States, the airlift continued for three more weeks, until censorship was breached in Israel by a small West Bank newsletter called *Nekudah*.

On January 4, *Nekudah* published an interview in which a senior official of the Jewish Agency referred in a veiled way to Operation Moses. That night, the Israeli government went on the record confirming the mission, prompted, in Stollman's opinion, by angry American and European journalists still operating

under Israeli censorship while their organizations were publishing accounts from other sources.

As feared, the operation was suspended. The government of Ethiopia strongly protested, accusing Gaafar Nimeiri of

*York Jewish Week* story, headlined that the mission was "planned," had no apparent effect. The D.C. story, headlined the "exodus has begun," was cited by the *Times* and, Rosenberg believes, led directly to national exposure.

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## The major national media were juggling the same questions of conscience and responsibility.

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complicity with "other foreign powers." The Belgian airline hired to ferry the refugees refused further flights, leaving some nine hundred Ethiopian Jews stranded in the Sudan. After a delay, the United States stepped in with new arrangements for completing the transfer of refugees via U.S. military transport, but the fact that the operation was successfully completed didn't bank the criticism of the American Jewish press.

In its March/April issue, the *Columbia Journalism Review* threw the *Washington Jewish Week* a dart for "breaking the covenant of silence, and triggering a barrage of publicity. . . that eventually brought it (Operation Moses) down."

The Washington-based *Near East Report* blamed *Washington Jewish Week* editor Fenyvesi for his "cavalier" handling of the story. "Those of us who are quick to point the finger at the non-Jewish world when it is insensitive to Jewish concerns cannot look away when Jewish community figures behave reprehensibly," wrote M. J. Rosenberg, editor of the weekly newsletter on the Middle East.

Gloria Cooper, who compiles *CJR's* "darts and laurels," and M. J. Rosenberg agree that the *Washington Jewish Week* deserves the criticism despite the prior story in the New York weekly. Cooper points to the fact that the airlift was full-fledged by the time the Washington paper wrote its story and its accompanying editorial proves to her that the editors were aware of the mission's fragility. *Near East Report* editor Rosenberg objects to the D.C. weekly "ballyhooing the story like they had a scoop." The *New*

Fenyvesi energetically denies that any media reporting, including his own paper's, is responsible for swamping the mission. He points out that the exodus continued for forty days after the *Washington Jewish Week* article was published, until the Israeli government acknowledged the mission. "No newspaper ever stopped an exodus," Fenyvesi says. "Governments react to what governments do."

Fenyvesi admits he would have suppressed the story if high-level Israeli or U.S. government sources had asked him to. Short of that, he says, "You cannot have the UJA raising money and telling what is happening on one hand, and a total news embargo on the other."

Fenyvesi is rankled by the double standard he believes the criticism implies. There may be a special relationship between the American Jewish media and Israeli policy goals, he admits, but not one that "should make us more beholden to the Israeli embassy or the State Department than others." On the other hand, Fenyvesi charges news and policy makers treat the Jewish press unequally. "They will leak a story to *The New York Times* or NBC, and expect us to follow their lead.

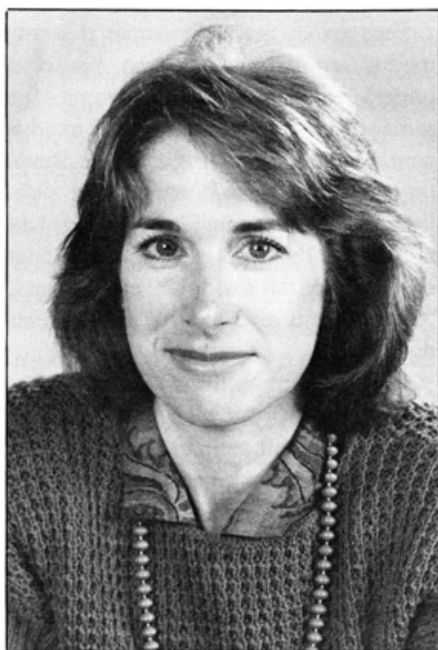
"This is a kind of growing-up ceremony for the American Jewish community."

The leaks surrounding Operation Moses were the result of conflict between interests of military planners, for whom secrecy was paramount, and fundraisers

*continued on page 73*

# The Camera's Shield and Portal

*A Portfolio by Pam Spaulding*



The pleasure of newspaper photography comes from the access it gives you into events and people's lives that you normally wouldn't have an opportunity to experience, but at the same time making pictures for a newspaper works against trusting your own instincts and photographing what interests you. I think it is difficult to survive in this work if you don't have projects working on the side.

I like to think of myself as a visual historian. I am less interested in the heroes and tragedies of our time and more interested in making a record of the way ordinary people live and feel. In the newspaper business we seldom get into the homes of middle-class families, and it seems to me that it is precisely in these

people that our culture is stored like the chromosomes that carry our genes. In the newspaper, we more often record the aberrations, but my personal interest is in showing how the big news events of the day are reflected in typical lives. It's like turning your back on a brilliant sunset and watching how the warm rays of the setting sun reflect off the surrounding terrain. I see myself providing raw material for ethnographers and anthropologists of the future. I am looking for images that show the icons of our culture. I imagine a child's car seat will look like an amazing contraption in about a hundred years. Our refrigerators, our cars, our clothes soon will be antiques.

For nearly nine years I have been taking pictures of the McGarveys, an upper middle-class family, trying to photograph what looks quite ordinary today but some day will look quite extraordinary. I began the project when they brought their first baby home from the hospital. I wanted to go beyond the concentrated and exciting moment of birth. That is just the kind of story that often has been the subject of photo essays (I myself have photographed twelve births); I wanted to photograph the realities of day-to-day mothering in our particular society. Their third child, Sara, is now two years old and I intend to continue recording the child-rearing years of this family until she leaves for college.

Through a Lamaze instructor, I searched for first-time parents. I wanted entrance into a home of mainstream America. During fourteen years of newspaper photography, I have photographed

the pathetic and pitiable, the deviant and eccentric, the rich and famous. I have known feelings of inadequacy from spending a day, a week, recording the "truth" about some subject. I crave the luxury of photographing where the possibilities for exploitation and inaccuracies are limited. This family understands the power and consequences of photography (he is an attorney); they give informed consent. I find great satisfaction from the years I've spent with them because the more time I spend, the closer I come to giving an accurate picture of all our lives. Like the concept of a "limit" in calculus, even if it's impossible to get to the actual truth, it may be just as good to come very close to the truth.

A long-term project like this creates special demands. While in normal newspaper assignments my feelings toward a subject are not significant in the performance of my job, I have been fortunate to find a family with whom I am compatible. In fact, I have developed many of my own parenting skills from observing them. Still it is sometimes a strain to face people time and again after they have seen my pictures. (I give them contacts of everything I shoot and hundreds of prints.) They notice things in the pictures that are insignificant to me: too many beer bottles sitting on the counter, her "mustache," a child's dirty shirt. My pictures are seldom flattering in their eyes.

I recognize that my particular background necessarily influences my perspective. I am continually amazed at this family's self-assuredness, their gracious entertaining, their sense of entitlement. Their lives are quite different from the southern Indiana dairy farm where I grew up. Our dusty road was so isolated that if we heard a car, one of us would hurry to the window and yell out who was going by. Those early years have affected the way I interact with people. Even as a college student home on vacation, I ran to hide at the sound of someone pulling up our lane. Like a wild rabbit, becoming invisible is still my first response, but I learned to use a camera both as a shield and as a portal. When I'm taking pictures, I move outside my body, become separated from my self-





consciousness.

Perhaps because I understand rural life, I am comfortable driving the back roads of Kentucky to look for farm scenes. In this way, I chanced upon the man working his tobacco patch with mules and the elderly woman returning from the chicken house with a single egg.

The granny midwife was the beginning of a series for the newspaper on changes in midwifery. I enjoy these country pictures because they are the remnants of a way of life nearly gone. I find pleasure in preserving for the future who we have been. Some of the pictures I take may be like the false starts in the evolutionary process of a species. I doubt that a father who stays home to “mother” his twins while his wife returns to work will be of great interest to future historians, but then again, it may foreshadow changes in the basic social unit consisting of parents and children in one house-

hold.

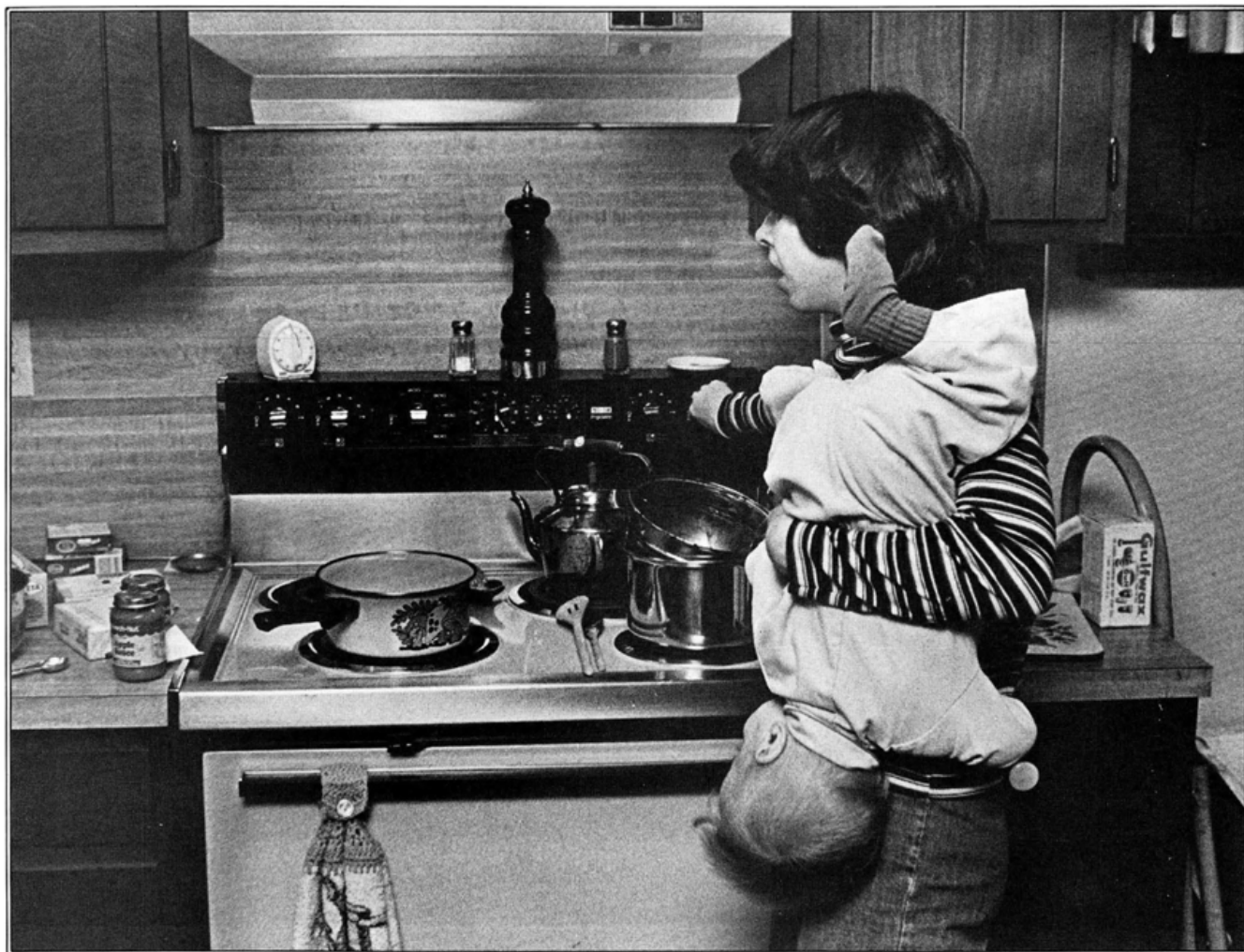
More typical, I think, are the pictures of the “Super Mom.” Both parents are attorneys and are struggling to balance their work with their two careers. I particularly like the picture where they are all trying to get out of the house in the morning — the parents to work and the kids to day care. Each person is totally involved in his or her own thoughts. To me there seems to be an aura surrounding and insulating all four people.

During my Nieman year, I spent a lot of my time trying to learn to write. For years, I have fantasized that a writer would appear and take over that part of the work. Now I think I might have to do that side, too. I began by writing a short story about the family I have been photographing for nine years. Trying to write about this family has changed the kinds of pictures that interest me. Because of my newspaper background, I am trained to come in tight and look for

the easiest-to-read photograph that will reproduce in the newspaper, but by doing that I discovered through the writing that I fail to show the chaotic life they live. Now I’m not avoiding the clashing patterns and confusion.

The boy jumping in the rain was part of a group of inner-city children taken on an outing to the country. They all came leaping off the bus and headed for the shelter house where I stood. They were too excited to be aware of my presence.

My great-grandchildren won’t know much more about me than my name — if even that. I feel a need to leave something here more solid than that. Newspapers and photographers tend to get interested in some political or social passion of the moment. And that’s important — we need people to show us the starving people in Ethiopia, but it is equally important to record the way most of us live. ■



The  
McGarvey  
Family

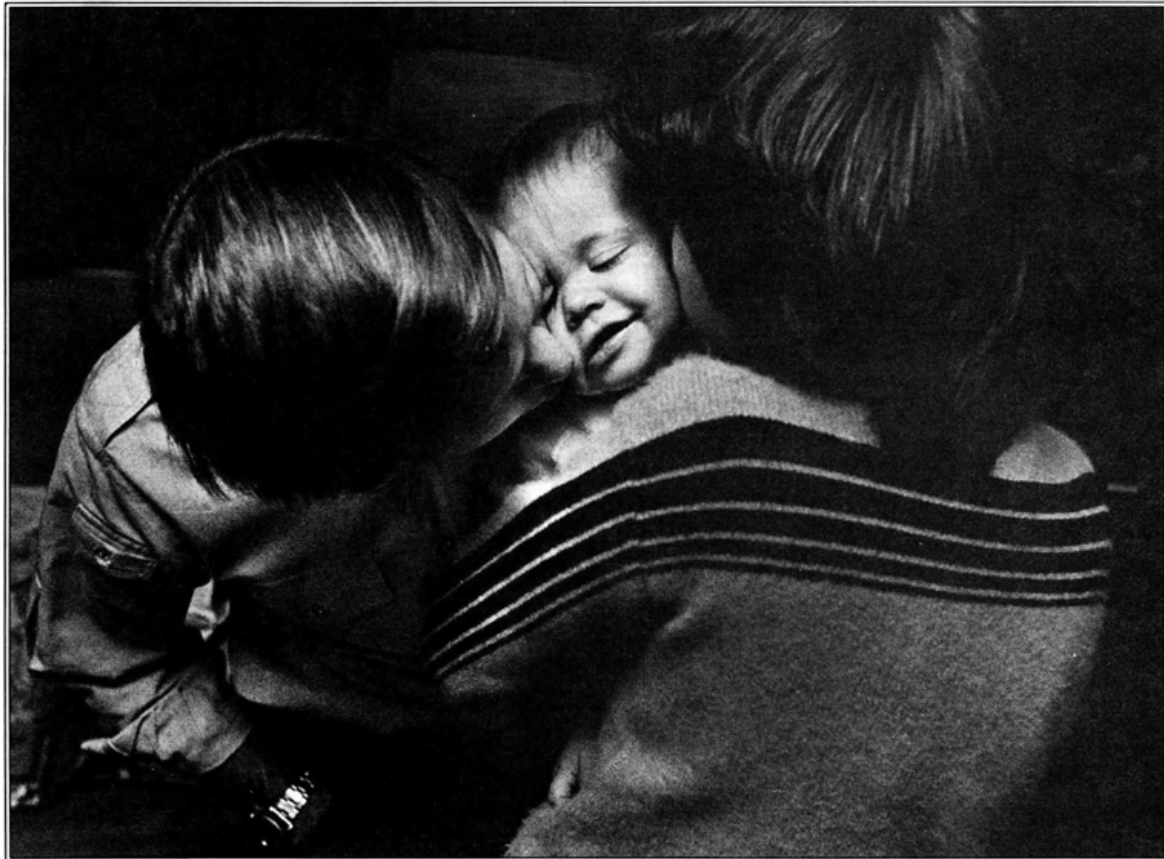
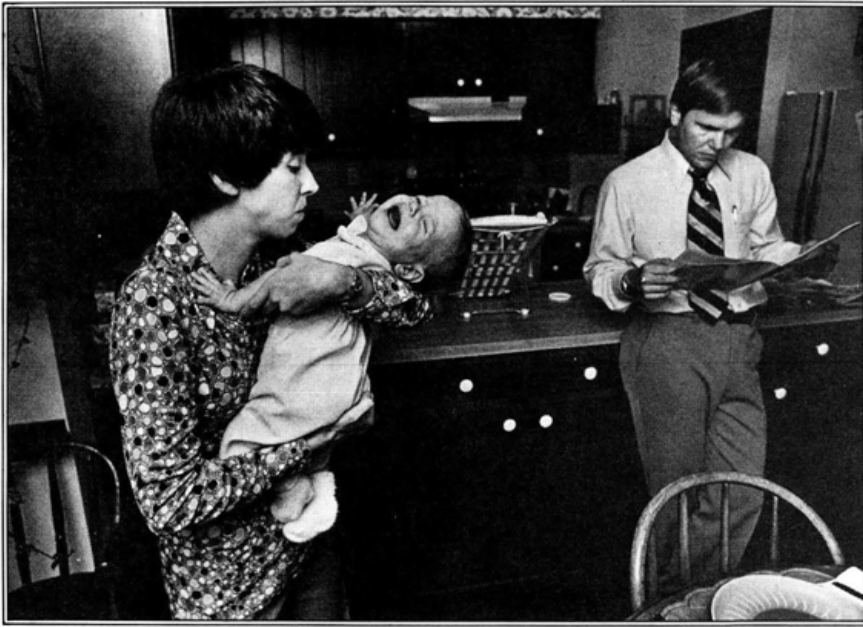








Pam Spaulding





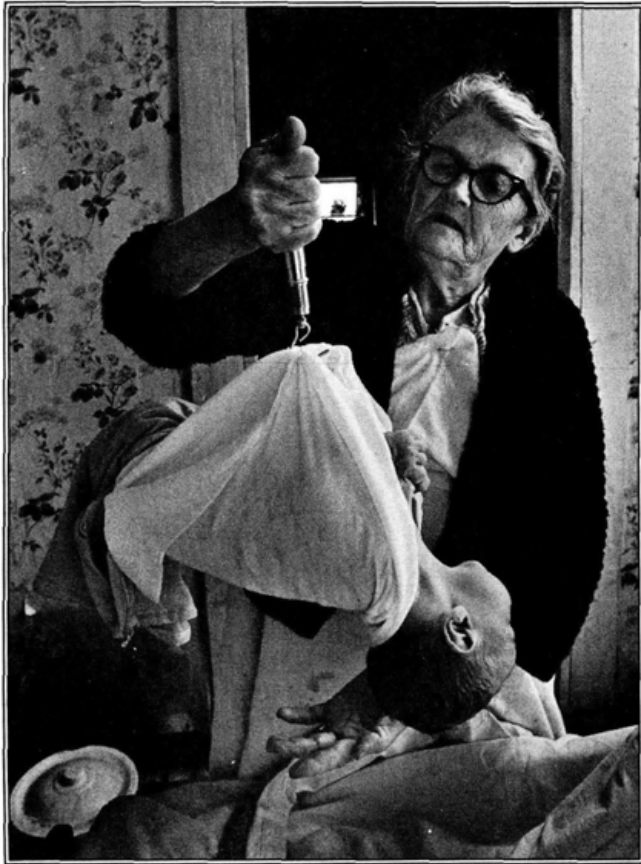
Granny midwife is Lillie Rowland. The baby, Pamela Mae Yocum, daughter of Marion and Shirley Yocum, was born in Lincoln County, Kentucky. She was named after the midwife and me. I lived with Mrs. Rowland for two weeks waiting for the baby's birth. At the time the midwife was 65 and had delivered more than three hundred babies. Inside the old brown suitcase she carries are scissors, silver nitrate, an apron, a baby scale, birth certificates, a set of handles to tie on a bed, and ginger for tea.

A half-century ago, granny midwives like Lillie Rowland delivered most of the babies in some of Kentucky's rural counties. Today there are few granny midwives to help "catch" the baby, but the granny midwife's successor is the professionally trained nurse-midwife. Mrs. Rowland died a couple years ago, shortly after this story was completed.

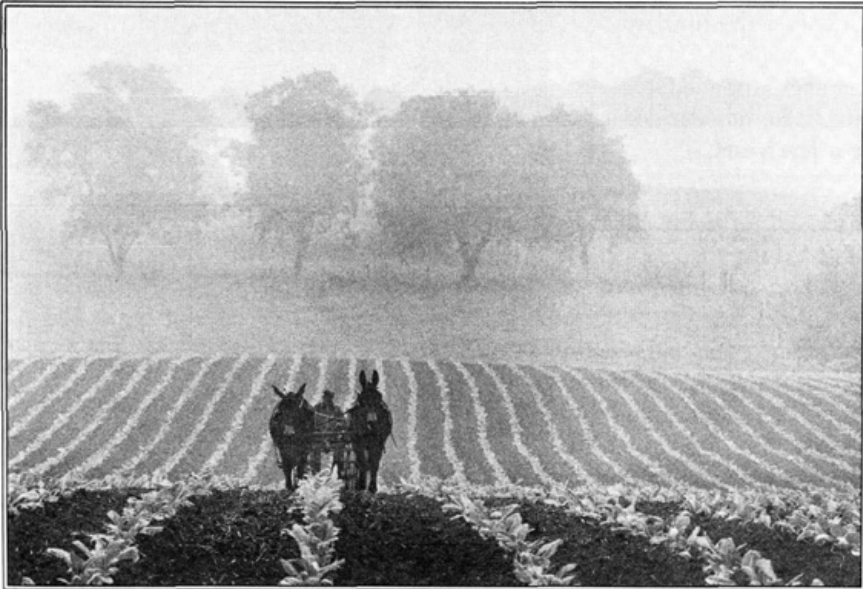
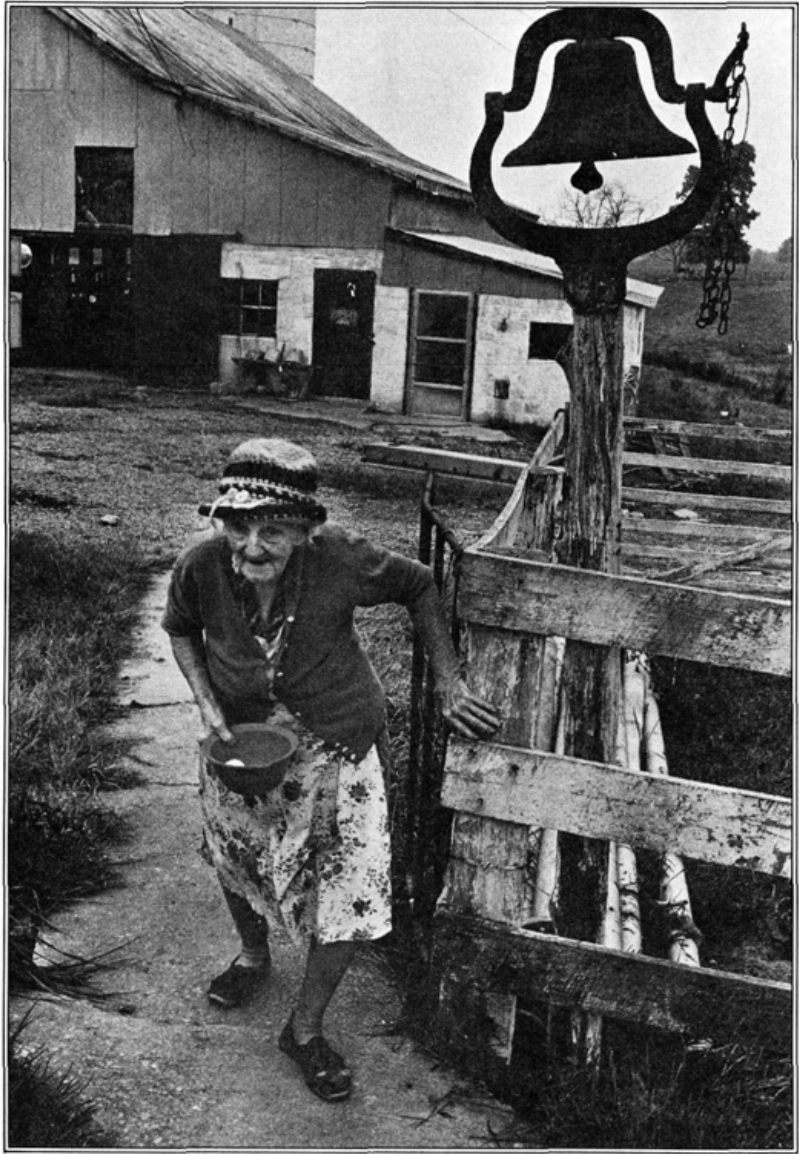














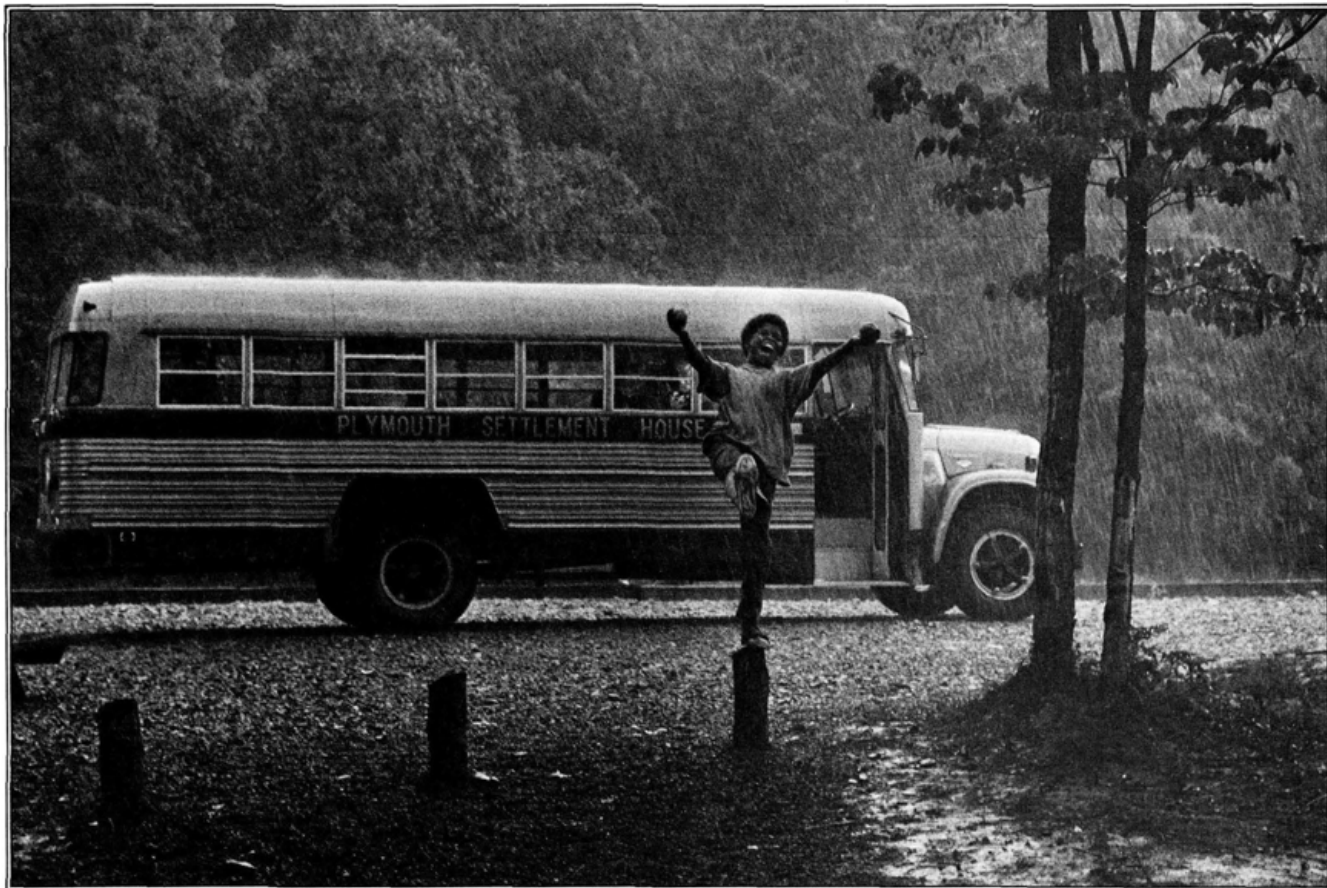
Super Mom Sallie Haynes works as a lawyer for Oxford Properties, Inc. She is sharing a meal with her daughter Katy, age 5, at the Hyatt Regency. Her other child is Amanda, age 2. She says dressing Amanda is "like dressing a worm," but to Amanda, "It's a game. To me, I've got five minutes to get to the day-care." About 6:30 every morning the children climb into bed with their parents. Sallie says, "This is the time we have to be with the kids before the hassles begin."

A footnote to this story is that Sallie and her husband Greg Haynes have since had another little girl. Sallie has decided to stay at home with her daughters for a few years.





Bob Firkins is a full-time father for his son, Seith, and his daughter, Rachel. His wife Harriet went back to teaching three weeks after the twins were delivered by Caesarian section. Firkins, a free-lance furniture and architectural designer, spends his days sterilizing bottles, changing diapers, and learning to coo. "Some days, when they're really good, you figure you could take care of a houseful," Firkins says. "And when they're bad, you could sell 'em to the gypsies." Firkins is not the sort of fellow you would pick out of a crowd as a househusband. He is 34, a big, burly, former weightlifter who looks as if he'd be more comfortable chugging beers than burping babies.



**Pamela (Pam) Spaulding** is the eighth photographer to be awarded a Nieman Fellowship. A member of the Class of 1985, she is the Sunday Magazine photographer for the *Louisville (Kentucky) Courier-Journal* and *Times*. She formerly was a staff photographer for the *Kokomo (Indiana) Tribune* and for the *Muncie (Indiana) Star and Press*. She also has been a stringer for the Associated Press. Her work has won first place in the William Randolph Hearst photojournalism contest, 1972, and first place, picture story, and second place, portfolio, in the national college photojournalism contest.

Daughters Alicia, age 8, and Lauren, age 4, came with their mother to Cambridge for the Nieman year. A picture of the three was featured on the cover of *News Photographer* magazine, December 1984, and in the accompanying article, "Women in Photojournalism."



# Battle Lines

Peter Braestrup

*By most measures, the hastily planned American invasion of Grenada on October 25, 1983 was a success. But the Reagan administration and the Joint Chiefs stirred up a storm back in Washington by excluding reporters from the island for more than 48 hours after the initial assaults took place. Breaking with precedent, Pentagon planners made no advance preparations to bring even a small "pool" of journalists to the island right after the operation began.*

*The following spring, the Pentagon convened a panel of military men and retired journalists in Washington under Major General Winant Sidle (USA, Ret.) to hear news organizations' recommendations on coverage of future military operations overseas; this exercise resulted in further military-media discussions and tests of future "pool" arrangements.*

*Meanwhile, the New York-based, non-partisan Twentieth Century Fund appointed a thirteen-member task force of scholars, journalists, and military men to study U.S. military-media relations in war zones in a broader context. In its 180-page report, "Battle Lines," issued last May, the task force rebuked the Reagan Administration for failing to insist on a plan for maximum feasible coverage of the Grenada operation. The task force declared that press coverage of U.S. combat operations had long been seen by both presidents and generals as not a "luxury but a necessity" — as a link between the soldiers and the public and as an independent check on both government and its critics in Washington.*

*As part of its report, the task force presented an account of the Grenada affair and a mini-history of media relations in past wars written by Peter Braestrup, NF '60, editor of The Wilson Quarterly, a veteran of Korea, and a former Vietnam correspondent, who served as the task force's rapporteur. We publish here excerpts from his accounts of 1) the arrangements for coverage of the Normandy landings in World War II and 2) the less than tranquil military-press relationship during the Korean War. Both are based in part on previously unpublished documentation.*

## WORLD WAR II

The military-press relationship was nowhere more exhaustively planned during World War II than in London prior to the Normandy landings on June 6, 1944. After two years of directing military operations, General Dwight D. Eisenhower had learned a good deal from past experience, some of it unhappy, in North Africa and Sicily. Both Eisenhower and his staff at Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), including Army Brigadier General Thomas Jefferson Davis, chief, public relations division, were determined that for the coming Normandy invasion — Operation Overlord — there would be a well-organized system for the support of newspapermen assigned to the Normandy beaches and (mostly) to backup stations. The planning that went into accommodating the press was as extensive as that for any phase of Operation Overlord.

There was much discussion within SHAEF many months before the invasion itself over the problems of dealing with the press. There were consultations among the British Ministry of Information, British military information officers, and the Americans. One of the problems, as set forth in memos, minutes, and other documents now in the National Archives, was the problem of giving several hundred correspondents in London awaiting D-Day enough to write about in February, March, and April of 1944. The preparations for the invasion had to be kept secret, and many parts of England were off-limits to reporters.

One of the questions that arose repeatedly in SHAEF was how much of the buildup for D-Day could be open to newsmen (that is, to provide pictures and descriptions of training, the amassing of supplies, the arrival of new equipment). All of this was tied to the purpose of keeping up home-front morale with the assurance that, in fact, progress was being made or would be made in the war against Hitler.

Internally, there was an agreement between the British and the Americans not to attempt to use the press to deceive the Germans with what is now called “disinformation.” As Brigadier General Robert A. McClure, the assistant chief of staff at SHAEF for psychological warfare and public relations, wrote to Sir Cyril Radcliffe of the British Ministry of Information: “Men who profess to present the news honestly should not be subjected to official suasion to present it dishonestly, however laudable the purpose. We cannot remove the foundations of a house and expect it to remain standing.”

On April 24, 1944, there was a major conference of American and British military public affairs officers in London. The minutes of that meeting indicate that all present were still concerned with the problem of protecting the security of the D-Day invasion (which involved deceiving the Germans as to where and when the assault would be launched; it was hoped that the



Peter Braestrup

Germans could be persuaded that the main assault would be launched across the Straits of Dover against the Calais area, and, in fact, the Germans did so believe).

Among those present were a number of newspapermen in uniform, including Lieutenant Commander Barry Bingham, United States Naval Reserve, formerly of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. One British representative, a Mr. C. P. Robertson, not otherwise identified in the minutes, said it would be a great help if SHAEF would indicate what it wanted to put across. “Do you want to put across that we are making great preparations?”

After discussing various plans, the officers agreed on a formula governing coverage of various secret training and supply facilities. One naval officer warned that “It was not what the correspondent submitted for censorship but what he talked about in Fleet Street when he got back that mattered” — a realistic, cautionary note sounded by the military in later wars.

In the same meeting on April 24, 1944, General Davis expressed concern about the growing tendency among the military to impugn correspondents. “We take them in, make them subject to the Articles of War, put them in a uniform, and can execute them if necessary. Most of them are men of tremendous responsibility.” Brigadier William Turner of the British Army said that an answer was needed to the question, “Is it SHAEF’s policy that within the subsequently agreed security policy we are to go all out to arrange facilities [for the press] or to discourage them?” The answer was generally: Go all out.

As early as March 1944, SHAEF planned the handling and transmission of press copy back from forward positions to home offices or London bureaus on D-Day. All of this was under military control. On the invasion beaches, for example, when a correspondent finished his story, he was to turn it over to his “conducting military public information officer.” This public relations officer was to put it in a special press bag and hand it over to the dispatch point for cross-Channel boat delivery. If the bag contained several stories, before being dispatched the public relations officer should include, for the benefit of London censors, a priority sheet of stories based on the time each batch of copy was received and/or the type of story. If radio was operating from the beaches, the public relations officer was supposed to be responsible for handing copy to field press censors working with each wireless unit.

How much advance notice were the correspondents to get? As laid out by General McClure on April 12, 1944, correspondents attached to SHAEF in London were not to be briefed in advance of D-Day. It was proposed that they be summoned for briefing not earlier than *one hour* prior to the time selected for publication of the initial communique — whose wording had already been decided several weeks in advance. Briefing was to be confined to the barest facts that the enemy might be expected to know. Suitable background information regarding the nature of amphibious operations and the technical problems involved would be given as thought advisable. No Allied order of battle or indication of unit strength would be given.

The correspondents attached to assault forces would be briefed just prior to embarkation of elements of the first wave.

This briefing would include only the fact that the operation was to be launched. Additional briefings at this time for the few correspondents actually accompanying the assault waves would include only sufficient orientation to enable them to cover their respective beaches. Timing of these briefings would be such that there would be no opportunity to compare notes with correspondents not leaving or with correspondents going to other beaches.

And on April 12, General McClure wrote to Eisenhower's chief of staff, Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, spelling out what would happen on D-Day in terms of press: "It is quite possible that the press of the United States and the United Kingdom will depend largely in the earliest period upon news emanating from communiques, material picked up on the South Coast [of England], material at press conferences, government statements, and enemy and neutral agency reports, broadcasts, and pictures." He added:

The Allied publics are keyed up to expect a great volume of dramatic news as soon as the "second front" opens. If adequate news is not available from official Allied sources, the [home-front newspapers and radio] will certainly make immediate use of news from enemy and neutral sources together with comment and speculation based thereon. Neither censorship nor guidance, however high, can stop this.

McClure urged maximum use of high-level press conferences for "bridging this news gap," as well as briefings by key staff officers close to Eisenhower.

Other planning documents dealt with accommodations, accreditation, pooling, and so forth. All accredited civilian correspondents would have the assimilated rank of captain in the U.S. Army or major in the British Army. A complete London information service would be provided by SHAEF for all accredited war correspondents with a press information room and a reference library, staffed twenty-four hours a day. It made provision for briefing by all military components, with a briefing if possible once each twenty-four hours.

The date on which war correspondents would be mobilized and instructed to join the forces by which they were to be accommodated would be given by SHAEF to its subordinate headquarters, which would then issue the necessary instructions for mobilizing correspondents.

A total of 461 reporters and photographers from the Allied press and radio were accredited to SHAEF for D-Day, 180 of them Americans (perhaps half the number of American journalists who were to assemble in Barbados for the Grenada affair thirty-nine years later).

On April 18, 1944, General Smith laid down the rules that were to govern censorship. He said:

In general, the following information will not be released:

- (1) Reports likely to supply military information to the enemy to the detriment of the Allied war effort.
- (2) Unauthenticated, inaccurate or false reports, misleading

statements and rumors.

- (3) Reports likely to injure the morale of the Allied Forces.

Correspondents were told in great detail what would be regarded as censurable material:

Notes for war correspondents accredited to SHAEF:

The following is a selection of some of the more obvious things which the enemy intelligence always wants to know:

- (i) What our plans and intentions are.
- (ii) How strong our forces are, and of what formation and units they are composed.
- (iii) Where our forces are.
- (iv) What ports, bases and airfield we are using.
- (v) Where our supply dumps are, the extent of our supplies and what they comprise.
- (vi) Any new equipment or weapons we may have.
- (vii) Details of any new tactics we use, and of new tactical uses of existing weapons.
- (viii) What effect his attacks, gunfire, bombing have had on us and whether he has accomplished his purpose (e.g., hit the target in an air attack).
- (ix) What our casualties are, either in number or by percentage.
- (x) What the state of *our* intelligence information is.
- (xi) Any information about our use of radar and radio.
- (xii) Any information about our codes and cyphers.

In April 1944, there were some disagreements which went as high as Eisenhower's chief of staff, General Smith, over the accreditation of various correspondents. On April 25, 1944, in a memorandum, General Davis, chief of the public relations division, wrote to Smith on "War correspondents concerning whom some question has arisen." In looking over the master list of correspondents, his superiors had expressed some doubts about accrediting them for D-Day, and General Davis defended them:

Wes Gallagher, Associated Press. Considered by Gen. McClure as a potential trouble-maker. Gallagher is considered by Associated Press to be its best war correspondent in this theater.

Frederick Kuh, *Chicago Sun*. Kuh is considered unreliable by Gen. McClure. Kuh is head of the *Chicago Sun's* London Bureau and considered by that paper its best man in the theater.

Pierre Huss, INS [International News Service]. Considered by Gen. McClure to be untrustworthy. Considered by Lt. Gen. Smith to be at least lacking security-mindedness. Huss is head of the INS London Bureau.

General Davis warned that lifting their credentials would cause an uproar among newsmen. No action was taken against them.

On May 11, Eisenhower told newsmen:

At my first Press Conference as Supreme Commander I told the war correspondents that once they were accredited to my headquarters I considered them quasi-staff officers.

All war correspondents that may accompany the expedition are first accredited to Supreme Headquarters and operate under policies approved by the Supreme Commander. They are, in turn, assigned to lower headquarters in accordance with agreements between the Public Relations Division of this headquarters and the Public Relations Officers on the staffs of the several Commanders-in-Chief. This allocation is always limited by accommodations available. Public Relations Officers of the various echelons act as their guides. As a matter of policy accredited war correspondents should be accorded the greatest possible latitude in the gathering of legitimate news.

Consequently it is desired that, subject always to the requirements of operations, of which the Commander on the spot must be the sole judge, Commanders of all echelons and Public Relations Officers and Conducting Officers give accredited war correspondents all reasonable assistance. They should be allowed to talk freely with officers and enlisted personnel and to see the machinery of war in operation to visualize and transmit to the public the conditions under which the men from their countries are waging war against the enemy.

The SHAEF staff also sent a memorandum to General Smith, who used it when he spoke to correspondents in late May. Prepared less than a month in advance of the landing in Normandy, it illustrates some of the traditional military views of correspondents (and of public affairs officers), views held even by those who understood the correspondents' duty in war-time:

*General Eisenhower has said that I would tell you more about those things which you may expect to encounter in the field. There are many of you here who could describe the lot of the war correspondent under combat conditions better than I but I will give you some of the background from the commander's point of view.*

There is no need to elaborate on the dangers that you are to face. The record of war correspondents in this war and the list of casualties speaks [sic] for itself. However, needless exposure to danger serves no one. A wounded or dead correspondent doesn't produce any copy except the story of his own misfortune — and that has to be written by someone else.

We recognize that there are two controlling forces in your work. First, to get the facts. Second, to get them to your medium of publication, press or radio. It is our job to see that you are provided with the proper opportunity to do both. This is easy to say but it not as easy to do.

The great problems are transportation and communications. It would be ideal if we could provide each one of you with a personal driver, a jeep, and a walkie-talkie tuned to

London but that is out of the question. To spread you out, one each to a detachment of troops, would be easier for us and would give you more comfortable living. You would get the story but you wouldn't be able to get it back. You must be reasonably close to communications if you are working on spot news.

While on the subject of communications, we are to rely on air courier service and radio in the early days. Obviously this means that the air courier service must be located near an advanced airfield. Radio is a bit more flexible but, there too, it has its limitations. Initially, there will be movable radio sending sets but their wordage is limited. The fixed sets can clear much greater traffic. The result of this is that in many cases it will be of greater advantage for you to work in groups. This will give you not only better communications but will give you an opportunity to be briefed and get the overall picture. Naturally, in the early days the radio facilities will have to be rationed.

The transportation problem, aside from the limited number of vehicles available, also offers a problem to correspondents. The crowded conditions of roads eats [sic] into valuable time and sometimes nullifies the enterprise of a correspondent. Take the case of a group wishing to visit a certain division. The distance is not great but the roads are jammed with transport. There were cases in the Mediterranean theater where a single bridge formed a bottleneck which took eight hours to pass. Naturally, the car carrying the correspondents would have to wait its turn to get across. It will be a case of weighing the value of the story against the time consumed in getting it — that is for your judgment.

Another thing that comes to mind is the attitude of a commander engaged in combat. No commander wants a group of a dozen or more correspondents around his command post or observation post, not because he is unsociable or doesn't want to be helpful, but a group of that sort draws fire. The enemy is quick to take advantage of any unusual activity and has been known to use an 88mm anti-tank gun for sniping. A *pair* [emphasis added] of correspondents might be all right provided they are not interfering with operations. You will find that the great majority of commanders will not only cooperate but will welcome correspondents, for you bring to him contacts with the outside world and new points of view.

For those of you who will not go in the field but will be covering the overall developments as they are gathered at Headquarters I can assure you that every effort is being made to see that you will get the picture as rapidly as it is unfolded to us. The Public Relations Division of this headquarters aims to give you the very best in information and communication. I have its plans and, while I am not a newspaperman, I feel certain that you will be happy — that is as happy as a good correspondent will allow himself to be — with arrangements. I know and you know that no matter how much is given a newspaperman he wants more. Well, we will try to give you that "more." Please do not take this as an invitation for grousing in order to get extra facilities because we are keenly sensible of what you want and don't



have to be clubbed into action. You have true friends at court in the Public Relations officers most of whom have had newspaper experience and have your slant uppermost in their minds. And, confidentially, sometimes we, in other branches at headquarters, wonder which they really are — newspapermen or officers. I don't think you have to worry on that score. If they can get it for you they will.

The Association of American Correspondents on May 6 in London unanimously passed a resolution thanking Brigadier General Davis of Eisenhower's headquarters for the arrangements to facilitate press coverage of the invasion of Western Europe. The resolution was proposed by Raymond Daniell of *The New York Times* and seconded by Virgil Pinkley, general European manager of United Press.

As *The New York Times* reported from London on May 26, 1944:

All the blueprints for second front news coverage look beautiful on paper but many newspapermen are keeping their fingers crossed because they have not forgotten the many snags that interfered with the transmission of news when Allied forces landed in North Africa [in 1942]. Those dispatches either never reached the home office, or got there in fragments several days apart.

The article went on to note that, during the upcoming invasion, there would be two communiqués issued, one at 11:00 A.M. British time, and the other at 11:30 P.M. British time:

American correspondents are particularly unhappy. Like newspapermen anywhere they feel that they represent the reading public. They point out that a communiqué issued at 11 A.M. in London (which is six hours ahead of New York in summer and five hours ahead the rest of the year) will just miss the morning editions in New York unless their papers go to extra expense of holding open far beyond their regular closing time.

\* \* \*

The assignment list for D-Day was made out well in advance. Every correspondent accredited to SHAEF was assigned to either Supreme Headquarters or to various echelons of the land, naval, and air contingents. For example, Walter Cronkite, then of the United Press, was assigned to Supreme Headquarters Air, as were eight other U.S. newsmen. Scripps-Howard's famed columnist Ernie Pyle and *The New Yorker's* A. J. Liebling (whose name was misspelled "Leveling") were also on the list. British newsmen outnumbered American newsmen overall by 188 to 180, not counting another twenty-seven from the British Empire. The press also had reporters based back at Supreme Headquarters in London to receive and expand on the communiqués; for example, CBS assigned Edward R. Murrow to this role.

Relatively few reporters were allowed to go in on the assault phase. For example, with the entire U.S. First Army, landing at Omaha and Utah beaches, there were assigned a total of

twenty U.S. correspondents and photographers and newsreel people. And not all of these were landing in the first wave. Of the twenty men, seven were with the three American wire services, three were with U.S. newspapers, and one each came from the three major networks serving radio. Four were photographers in a picture pool. The remaining three represented *The New Yorker*, *Stars & Stripes*, and the newsreel pool. In addition, because the overall landing force, which consisted of British and Canadian as well as American forces, was so dispersed and so large, each group of journalists tended to cover the troops of their respective countries.

Out of the total number (180) of American correspondents accredited to SHAEF there were only twenty-seven U.S. newsmen for radio, films, and print going ashore with elements of all three armies: the British Second Army, the Canadian First Army, and the U.S. First Army. Other journalists destined to follow the initial assault were to come in later, and the rest would remain in London.

Inevitably, some discussion occurred among the military concerning the call-up for duty of correspondents who were going to go cross-Channel with their units. The big question was when the correspondents would be summoned to report to the units that they would accompany on D-Day. The British, who were uneasy about this, had repeatedly raised the problem of security; in fact, on January 28, 1944, Winston Churchill had written to General Eisenhower suggesting that a "very stringent attitude should be adopted in regard to communication to the press correspondents in this country of any background information about Overlord operations either before they start or while they proceed." Even so, reporters had been summoned quietly and gone on training exercises with Allied troops long before D-Day.

On June 2, Lieutenant General Smith, Eisenhower's chief of staff, told the worried British War Cabinet that correspondents would be called up for duty at times varying between D-Day minus six and D-Day minus two. He outlined the security precautions imposed on all war correspondents and concluded:

It is not felt that a particularly dangerous "flag" will be hoisted in Fleet Street when these correspondents are alerted. For only 40 [British and American] correspondents are taking part in the initial phase and these 40 will not depart in a body. Further, as many as 25 correspondents have attended [training] exercises in the past and no great comment was caused by their disappearance.

As near as can be ascertained, the American correspondents did not accompany every element of the invasion force. Only six were on Omaha Beach, which turned out to be a pivotal battle, involving two U.S. divisions. No American correspondent accompanied the Ranger forces near Omaha Beach. Only one, *Time's* William Walton, accompanied the U.S. airborne units, whose men parachuted behind the enemy beach defenses in Normandy. The British allowed Leonard Mosley of the *Kemsley* newspapers to drop in with the British airborne troops. He filed a dispatch on June 6 that was delayed for forty-eight

hours but saw wide distribution.

How did things work out in practice? The news of the invasion came out of London. On June 10, 1944, *The New York Times* reported that the army's communications system set up for correspondents accompanying American troops on the assault on France broke down completely. For more than twenty-eight hours they were unable to get news out on the troops in action. (The British did not have the same problem.)

On June 10 the Associated Press reported from London that some 2.5 million words telling the story of the invasion had been sent by more than 300 Allied war correspondents through London cable facilities to the United States and the British Empire. The flow of words increased from 400,000 filed on June 6 to 800,000 on June 9; 100 pictures were also being filed daily.

But let John MacVane of NBC tell the story of the assault phase on Omaha Beach:

I . . . was driven to a correspondents' training camp near Bristol, where the public relations officers and the new correspondents had been learning what to do in the field. Some other reporters were already there, and we were put into tents under the wet pine trees. At the mess hall that night, rain swirled and drummed hideously on the roof. Some of the correspondents in the mess were new to me. Times had changed since the early days of the war when we all knew one another. So many correspondents had arrived from America and so many new ones had been assigned to war reporting by the British papers that we had never even seen the faces of several.

After dinner we were told to draw special equipment. Each of us received five boxes of K rations, concentrated food in waterproof boxes. We were given waterproofed matchboxes, pills to purify drinking water, extra cigarettes, pills for seasickness, and even the means to make love safe and sanitary, which were also useful for waterproofing small articles in our pockets.

We were about twenty-five or thirty in all, but not all of us were going with the assault troops. [Columnist] Ernie Pyle, for instance, was to be with Bradley at First Army Headquarters, which would probably not reach France for a couple of days after the invasion. Others would be with naval command ships and might never get on shore at all. . . .

There were only three of us . . . with our old friends of the 1st division. . . .

We three correspondents went to . . . the Coast Guard ship *Samuel Chase*. An alternative headquarters had been set up on this ship so that if the *Ancon* were sunk, Gen. Wyman could immediately take over the direction of the battle. With him he had the assistant chief of each section. Also on board was the headquarters of the primary assault regiment, the 16th Infantry, and full battalion of that regiment.

When we were aboard, Major Gale said to us, "We don't think you three reporters should go ashore together. If your boat were sunk, and it may well be sunk, the division would lose all its reporters together.

[The reporters landed on Omaha Beach amid chaos.]

It stays light very late in Normandy during June. It must have been six or seven o'clock when Gen. Huebner, the division commander, arrived, and after a time he moved the division command post a mile or so inland. Our advance troops were fighting a short distance farther in, as well as on our flanks at the villages of St. Laurent and Colleville. The Les Moulins exit had not yet been taken, and the 116th Regiment of the 29th Division had a hard baptism of fire.

. . . At times a machine gun would start clattering in the woods, and one would see leaves and branches clipped above one's head. As soon as a few shots had been fired in any particular place, signs would be posted, Sniper Up This Road. Dead Germans at various points showed where the fighting had been fiercest. Sometimes the bodies of Americans would be lying nearby. When a machine gun started firing, the nearest American unit would start looking for it, so that there were little battles all around us. There was no real front at this time, only groups of American troops in various places fighting little battles and then trying to move on.

Lieut. Sam Brightman [later a Democratic National Committee spokesman] showed up in the late afternoon. He was the only Army public relations officer on Omaha that day. All the vast public relations preparations, and only Brightman, a lieutenant, there to help us. He had no means of communication, but when we all wrote short dispatches, he volunteered to take them to the beach and give them to some Navy officer in the hope of passing them along by hand to England. We entrusted our messages to Sam, but none of them ever arrived in London. I thought I had arranged things well for my broadcasting from the beach, but Lieutenant Colonel Pickett, the division signal officer, told me that all four of the radios he expected to have had been sunk before they reached shore. . . .

Censorship did not cause undue delay, once the stories got to London. *The New York Times* reported on June 13 from London in a story by E. C. Daniel that it took only an average of eleven minutes apiece for invasion news dispatches to be read and censored by the three-nation military censorship team at SHAEF.

Almost inevitably the newsmen in Normandy formed a beachhead correspondents' committee, headed by John Thompson of the *Chicago Tribune*, to deal with problems of the press. They were primarily problems of transport and communications.

Later, in July 1944, reassuring the British, Colonel R. Ernest Deputy, acting chief of the public relations division, wrote to Major General C.M.F. White of the Twenty-first Army Group, soothing his anger over reporters' complaints over communications. Illustrating the SHAEF attitude, Deputy said:

I do not know whether you have any specific case in mind, and none has been reported in connection with the present operations, but our experience is that, if the correspondents are taken into our confidence and understand the security background, so that they can write good stories without coming into conflict with censorship, there is very little trouble with them. If, however, they feel that they are being hampered in reporting events, they are apt to react, not altogether unnaturally, by trying to beat the censor.

I am sure all your officers are anxious to assist the correspondents, and that if we can work together to this end, many of the difficulties can easily be overcome. I feel that the basic approach of the staff to this matter should be one not of suspicion and prejudice, but *one of confidence in and acceptance of the correspondents as an integral part of the whole set-up.*

Deputy's letter followed a bit of a flap among British newspapermen in Normandy who complained that the Americans, after losing out initially, were getting better communications and facilities than their British counterparts. One of the complainants was Alan Moorehead, who left the British sector to join the U.S. forces and report the fall of the port of Cherbourg.

He was quoted as saying, not without envy:

Correspondents attached to the American Army are treated as active officers and given the equipment to do their job. They are entrusted with vehicles and drivers. Each division has a Press officer, who provides a courier service to get correspondents' messages back to a radio station. Generals constantly invite correspondents to spend a day touring the front with them. . . .

British correspondents there, with their own armies, are regarded with a good deal of suspicion; not by the fighting men, but by the organisation [Twenty-first Army Group] that controls them.

An officer must accompany each one of us where ever we go. Technically, if I want a haircut an officer must come and watch me get it. I may not drive an Army vehicle.

We have a radio set that sends some 80 words a minute — when it works. Further, we are limited to a maximum of 400 words, whereas the Americans have no limit for their 700-word-a-minute transmitter.

Moorehead had been told that there is no prospect of correspondents receiving additional facilities. His first two dispatches took eight days to reach England; his third was lost altogether.

Whatever the flaws of D-Day arrangements and the later problems of coverage, they represented a major advance over journalists' earlier travails. Joe Alex Morris, foreign editor of the United Press, described his experience in preparing for two Allied attacks in 1942, the August raid on Dieppe and the November invasion of North Africa:

The [disastrous] Dieppe raid [by 6,000 British and Canadian

troops] was an example of how not to do it. Only broadline arrangements were made in advance, upon the insistence of correspondents, for newspapermen [based in London] to accompany Commando troops occasionally on raids against the European coast. The American Correspondents' Association submitted to the British War Office a list of names drawn by lot and the War Office theoretically selected the men in rotation.

Under this system, men were summoned secretly for a period of training with the Commando troops and assigned to an operation. They might be out of touch with their offices for two or three weeks, after which they would go on a raid or, if the operation was called off for some reason, return to London. Some of these reporters also went on raids about which they have never been permitted to write.

No information was given newspapermen in advance regarding the Dieppe raid, but a limited number of correspondents were told to report secretly for assignment. Combined Operations Headquarters then told the censorship that nothing was to be passed regarding what happened at Dieppe unless it was written by the reporters who accompanied the troops and that their stories were to be pooled and made available to everyone after they returned to London.

This resulted in two days of endless confusion in which a great part of the real story of the operation was held up until the censorship eventually was forced to change its instructions. The secrecy which the [British] Combined Operations Command considered essential also resulted in some wild [wire service] reports [in America] that the raid was a "second front" invasion.

The handling of the North African operation showed considerable improvement. Weeks before the invasion date [November 8, 1942], the executive committee of the American Correspondents' Association [in London] met with a United States general in charge of press relations. . . .

Reporters later were selected from the lists we had submitted and were told to report quietly by twos or threes, prepared for a journey of indefinite length. The North African invasion was such a big operation that an unexpectedly large number of correspondents vanished from London during a single week, a total of five being taken from the United Press bureau alone. . . .

As far as can be ascertained, the London censorship of press dispatches prior to the Normandy invasion was largely effective. We do not know what rumors or reports reached Germany from its agents, if any, mingling with newsmen in the bars and restaurants on Fleet Street. The chief breach of security prior to June 6, 1944, that is on record came from an *official* handout put out by the Allied air forces and was noticed by none other than Winston Churchill. The offending material had been passed by the Americans; it was a headline on an official picture of Ninth Air Force bombing activity which said, "Softening Up the Invasion Coast" (published in *The New York Times* on May 28). The caption under the picture was "A-20 Havocs

of the 9th Air Force blasting Nazi road junction in northern France." A sharp rebuke went to the Ninth Air Force Public Relations Office on May 27 for allowing this pinpointing detail to get through in an official handout. The Germans apparently did not notice.

On the other hand, the little-opposed invasion of southern France in August 1944 was, as the Associated Press reported on August 15, the worst-kept secret of the war:

Thousands of Frenchmen and Americans knew it was coming. Correspondents in Normandy and Brittany were constantly asked about it by both Frenchmen and soldiers. The question was among the first asked by Frenchmen in captured towns. Probably the French underground was told of the impending invasion and they told everyone else.

There were also plenty of press complaints about military secrecy during the war in the European theater. Blackouts of political news out of Algiers after the assassination of Admiral Jean Darlan in 1942 provoked an outcry among reporters in Algiers. There was a furor on both sides of the Atlantic regarding news from the hard-pressed Anzio beachhead in February 1944, following orders for a blackout issued by a British general, Sir Harold R.L.G. Alexander, commander of Allied forces. Critics in Parliament alleged that Alexander was trying to impose censorship for policy as well as security reasons.

Alexander had required that news dispatches be sent by courier to Naples for censorship rather than being transmitted from the beachhead by available radio. But the secretary of war, Henry L. Stimson, told a press conference in Washington "that my only comment on that is that in accord with my usual policy, General Henry Maitland Wilson commanding in the Mediterranean theater is in the best possible position to judge whether factors such as you refer to affect operations in this theater either favorably or adversely."

According to *The New York Times*, Norman Clark, representing the combined British press on the hard-pressed beachhead, said that restrictions were due to official displeasure at Allied headquarters over some dispatches that had "compared the beachhead at Anzio to Dunkirk."

There were also major mishaps that occurred during the war that were blacked out by censorship, notably the shooting down by American anti-aircraft fire of American transport planes carrying paratroopers during the Sicily invasion in July 1943.

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In Italy in 1944, CBS's Eric Sevareid accompanied U.S. troops; and years later, he reflected on what he saw. Ground combat, as television reporters were to discover in Vietnam, does not really make for comprehensive "visuals":

One never saw masses of men assaulting the enemy. What one observed, in apparently unrelated patches, were small, loose bodies of men moving down narrow defiles or over steep inclines, going methodically from position to position

between long halts, and the only continuous fact was the roaring and crackling of the big guns.

One felt baffled at first by the unreality of it all. Unseen groups of men were fighting other men that they rarely saw. They located the enemy by the abstractions of mathematics, an imagined science; they reported the enemy through radio waves that no man could visualize; and they destroyed him most frequently with projectiles no eye could follow. When the target became quiet, that particular fight would be over and they moved ahead to something else. Never were there masses of men in olive drab locked in photogenic combat with masses of men in field gray. It was slow, spasmodic movement from one patch of silence to another. . . .

At one point, Sevareid found himself with some GIs in a newly captured town:

A young German soldier lay sprawled just inside a sagging doorway, his hobnailed boots sticking into the street. Two American soldiers were resting and smoking cigarettes a few feet away, paying the body no attention. "Oh, him?" one of them said in response to a question. "Son of a bitch kept lagging behind the others when we brought them in. We got tired of hurrying him up all the time." Thus casually was deliberate murder announced by boys who a year before had taken no lives but those of squirrel or pheasant. I found that I was not shocked nor indignant; I was merely a little surprised. As weeks went by and this experience was repeated many times, I ceased even to be surprised — only, I could never again bring myself to write or speak with indignation of the Germans' violations of the "rules of warfare."

Unlike some of his later colleagues in CBS, Sevareid had no illusions about the truth of battle as conveyed by journalism or about the difference between the experiences of war correspondents and of soldiers:

. . . only the soldier really lives the war. The journalist does not. He may [occasionally] share the soldier's outward life and dangers, but he cannot share his inner life because the same moral compulsion does not bear upon him. The [journalist] observer knows he has alternatives of action; the soldier knows he has none. It is the mere knowing which makes the difference. Their worlds are very far apart, for one is free, the other a slave.

This war must be seen to be believed, but it must be lived to be understood. We [journalists] can tell you only of the events, of what men do. We cannot really tell you how or why they do it. We can see, and tell you, that this war is brutalizing some among your sons and yet ennobling others. We can tell you very little more. . . .

If, by the miracles of art and genius, in later years two or three among [the veterans] can open their hearts and the right words come, then perhaps we shall all know a little of what [World War II] was like. And we shall know, then, that all the present speakers and writers hardly touched the story.



## THE KOREAN WAR: LAISSEZ-FAIRE TO CENSORSHIP

The 1950-53 Korean War, as anyone over 50 may recall, rapidly became an extremely unpopular conflict among Americans at home. "Korea, Communism, and Corruption" became a Republican slogan against the Truman administration in 1952, and the costs and frustrations of this "limited war" against Communist aggression helped to put Dwight D. Eisenhower in the White House.

This frustration was largely exploited by the Right, not by the Left as happened later when the United States fought in Vietnam, and involved neither the professoriat nor the students. The protest was subsumed in regular party politics, but neither Republicans nor Democrats came to advocate U.S. withdrawal from Korea. As it turned out, the war lasted only three years (albeit with U.S. losses of 34,000 dead), and its progress could be measured conventionally in terms of ground gained or lost, even after it settled into a military stalemate in late 1951. The attendant destruction of Korean cities and towns and heavy civilian loss of life produced few outcries at home. War was war.

In terms of military-media relations, the Korean War commenced with a U.S. experiment with "voluntary censorship." This proved unworkable and was followed by a return, at the request of many newsmen, to formal military censorship on the World War II model. Television cameras made their first battlefield appearance but played a minor role in the news flow. In contrast to 1941-45, some newsmen violated the rules (none was punished); some fraternized (after July 1951) with the foe during the truce talks at Panmunjom; and in general, the press, like the politicians back home, was more critical. This period was also the beginning of the changes in communications — notably the use of long-distance telephones — that were later to affect both war coverage and military security. But, on the whole, the relationship worked.

The war began as a surprise.

On Saturday, June 24, 1950, almost five years after the end of World War II, while President Harry S. Truman was attending a family reunion in Independence, Missouri, he was informed that the North Koreans had crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel and were threatening the South Korean capital of Seoul.

It was not clear at first whether it was the latest of a series of border raids against the poorly equipped, undermanned South Korean Army or an invasion. Truman did not immediately return to Washington. Instead he told Secretary of State Dean Acheson to alert the United Nations. The United Nations, then located at Lake Success on Long Island, New York, had been trying for several years to arrange elections for a unified Korean government and claimed legal authority over all of that country.

At the Security Council meeting the next day, Secretary General Trygve Lie (of Norway) called for a resolution, which was subsequently adopted, demanding an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal by the North Koreans. Two days later a second resolution was adopted urging full-scale United Nations military

support for South Korea, which by then was clearly the victim of an all-out invasion. These resolutions were adopted in the absence of the Soviet delegate, Jacob Malik, who had been boycotting the Security Council for five months in protest against its refusal to give the seat of Nationalist China to the People's Republic of China.

Meanwhile, after two days of secret intensive discussions with his cabinet, President Truman announced that the United States would defend South Korea under the auspices of the United Nations. Even as he spoke, he had already committed U.S. air and naval power. Although it was to shift six months later, public opinion largely supported the stand taken by Truman, and that support was bipartisan. The man he had bested in the 1948 presidential election, Thomas Dewey, sent a wire saying, "I wholeheartedly agree with and support the difficult decision you have made," and even the conservative Senator Robert Taft of Ohio said the country should go "all-out."

Strong support came from Western Europe, where it was felt that Truman had saved the United Nations and relieved a little of the Soviet pressure on Europe. President Truman's decision was influenced by the perceived danger to American security interests in Asia, particularly in Japan, and by the large body of postwar expert opinion, which held that World War II could have been forestalled had a firm stand been taken early against Nazi aggression. The Truman decision also followed five years of increasing tension vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe — notably the Berlin Blockade of 1948-49, the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948, and the Greek Civil War pitting the government against Communist guerrillas, a war that lasted through the late 1940's and ended only after Tito's Yugoslavia cut off support to the Greek Communists by closing the border with Greece. But Truman did not ask Congress for a declaration of war, even as he mobilized the reserves, curtailed federal domestic programs, and later imposed certain wartime economic controls — steps not taken in 1965, when the Johnson administration committed troops to Vietnam.

On June 30, 1950, Truman received a cable from General Douglas MacArthur, American commander in Japan, saying, "The South Korean forces are in confusion, have not seriously fought, and lack leadership. . . . It is essential that the enemy advance be held or its impetus will threaten the over-running of all Korea." The immediate commitment of U.S. forces was the only way to retrieve the situation, MacArthur said. Truman authorized MacArthur to send a battalion combat team to the battle zone and, later that day, permitted MacArthur to commit all of his forces, ordering a naval blockade of North Korea.

And so, less than five years after the defeat of Japan, Americans were again involved in a serious shooting war. But this time, after an initial period of popularity, intense opposition arose on the home front, particularly after the Chinese Communist forces entered the war.

In terms of the American press, only the wire services had correspondents on duty in Seoul (which fell to the North Koreans on June 27, 1950). The available U.S. correspondents were in Tokyo, capital of American-occupied Japan and head-

quarters of General MacArthur, who was both supreme Allied commander and head of the U.S. Far East Command (FEC). (Until war broke out, his responsibilities did not include Korea.) Under UN auspices, he was also to become supreme commander of the UN forces.

The initial press reports of the North Korean invasion came from the wire services (Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service) out of Seoul and out of Tokyo. During the first days of July, as poorly armed U.S. troops from the army's understrength Twenty-fourth Infantry Division on garrison duty in Japan moved by sea and air to Pusan and then up to Taegu and later to Taejon to bolster the reeling South Korean units, American newsmen went with them. It was a time of desperation for American troops, and it was an extremely difficult story for the press — not only difficult but dangerous.

As John Hohenberg notes:

Peter Kalischer of the UP watched the first American infantrymen go into action in Korea on July 5, watched them break and run before Communist tanks, and himself narrowly escaped capture. When he walked into a makeshift press-room at Taejon nearly three days later, he had a tragic story to tell. But neither he nor any of the other seventy correspondents who had come to Korea by that time (only five had been around at the beginning) could get much out unless they flew back to Japan.

In 24th Division headquarters at Teajon, there was only one military line to Tokyo over which the correspondents could telephone messages. They had to stand in line, rationed to a few minutes each, and dictate bulletins or detail. The bad news came in small doses.

For the military, providing news representatives with logistical support became a sizable command responsibility. By September 1, 238 reporters, both American and foreign, were accredited in Tokyo to cover operations in Korea (eventually there were 270). The best estimates were that fewer than a quarter of those accredited were ever at the front at one time. As for the hard day-to-day coverage, according to Hohenberg, relatively few stuck it out, but among them were veterans of World War II. (All told, ten American correspondents died during the fighting, mostly during the first few months. One photographer, Frank Noel of AP, was captured by Chinese Communists on December 1, 1950; he spent over two and a half years in Communist prison camps.)

In July 1950, with no fewer than seventy correspondents on hand, the U.S. Eighth Army commander, Lieutenant General Walton H. Walker, had an extra burden to carry when he set up his command post at Taegu. Besides such personal needs as post-exchange cards, authorization to buy field clothing, clearance to enter the combat zone, travel orders, billeting, and mess facilities, accredited correspondents received from the FEC or the Eighth Army their prime requirements: transportation and communication facilities. In Taegu, the Eighth Army information officer established a correspondents' billet in a school-

house.

Oddly enough, General MacArthur, although authorized by Washington to impose censorship, refused to do so, declaring it "abhorrent," in July 1950. Instead he tossed the problem to the newsmen. Write what you please, he said, in effect, but if you break security or make "unwarranted criticisms," you will be held responsible personally.

This permissive policy pleased no one. Howard Handleman, then Tokyo bureau chief for INS, said recently that "in early July, a bunch of us [bureau chiefs] sneaked into MacArthur's headquarters and asked him to impose censorship." Without it, the competitive pressures to disclose more information than the rival reporter were enormous. "What might endanger the troops was a matter of judgment," Handleman said. The wire-service reporter who was least sensitive to security matters "got the play" in newspapers at home. "Every one of us did it." The group included Walt Simmons of the *Chicago Tribune*, Lindesay Parrott of *The New York Times*, AP's Russ Brines, and Earnest Hoberecht of the UP.

One experienced reporter, Tom Lambert of the AP, was briefly barred from the battlefield in mid-July — although he, too, had asked for censorship. (The ban on Lambert was lifted quickly by MacArthur.) What stirred MacArthur's subordinates was a line in Lambert's July 12 story that was denounced on other than "security" grounds. Reported *The New York Times* from Tokyo:

The officer cited as an "aid and comfort to the enemy" an excerpt from one of Mr. Lambert's dispatches that quoted a front-line soldier saying, ". . . this is a damned useless war." The soldier's remark, which Colonel Echols quoted in part, was taken from a paragraph in Mr. Lambert's July 12 story, in which the soldier was quoted as follows: "You don't fight two tank-equipped divisions with .30 caliber carbines. I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life."

Then Mr. Lambert went on to say that "bitter though they were, this G.I. band had fought a gallant delaying action against tremendous odds. . . ."

In the absence of official censorship, said *The New York Times*, all reporters "have been left on their own to follow the Army's instructions that they write their stories with due regard for security factors." The correspondents found that the definition of security was so loose, even among Army officers, that the correspondents could not adequately judge for themselves.

The problem fell into two broad categories:

One category is military security. No reporter has consciously violated known security rules. However, there have been serious leaks — most of them originating in the United States — concerning such matters as troop departures. Some [wire service] reporters have withheld news developments on the grounds of security only to learn that the story was used by a competitor. In some cases the information was not considered of security value by officers in a position to know, but there is considerable disagreement among the officers themselves. . . . The other category is military prestige. In the

present retreating and holding warfare a lot of battle-green American youngsters are taking heavy punishment from experienced troops heavily outnumbering them. Their disillusionment has been reported in detail. Some officers believe this is bad for Army morale, bad for American public opinion and helpful to the enemy's morale. Whether any of these points are correct, there is a perceptible increase in sensitivity to these stories. Thus far, Tokyo correspondents have failed in repeated efforts to obtain regular briefings on the military situation. In the Korean war zone, field headquarters sends a spokesman twice a day to brief the press.

But MacArthur's aides, despite public laments about security leaks and inquiries from the Pentagon, did not impose censorship. The general was convinced that it was unworkable. According to Colonel Melvin Voorhees, an Eighth Army censor:

Newsmen used their own discretion in reporting operations in Korea until late December 1950. During that time, the disclosure of security information by correspondents was virtually a daily occurrence. Contrary to the guidelines given them, newsmen prematurely revealed the withdrawal of United Nations troops to the Naktong River line, the arrival of the 2nd Infantry Division at Pusan, the amphibious landing of the 1st Cavalry Division at Pohangdung, the arrival in Korea of the first British troops, the 1st Marine Division's amphibious landing at Inchon (10 hours before it actually happened). . . . There were hundreds of other similar disclosures.

The first breaches of security occurred within days of General MacArthur's request for voluntary censorship. MacArthur's admonition to newsmen changed nothing. Alarmed by the reports coming out of Korea, members of Congress, too, called on the press and radio to stop disclosing troop movements in the Far East. But security breaches continued.

Perhaps remembering his coterie of journalists during World War II, General MacArthur was hospitable to newsmen before and during the landing of the First Marine Division (and follow-up Seventh Army Division troops) at Inchon on September 15, 1950. The landing had long been rumored. Keyes Beech [NF '53], later recalled that several dozen reporters were assembled in the Tokyo Press Club for assignments to various ships in the invasion fleet, then went off to join them in Sasebo and other ports of embarkation.

Howard Handleman, the INS bureau chief, was taken with MacArthur and his staff to the command ship *Mount McKinley* along with the bureau chiefs of the AP and UP, and *Life* photographer Carl Mydans. They had good communications.

However, the lack of common ground rules was highlighted once again. As *Newsweek* reported:

Attending a native-language press conference in Pusan, Bill Shinn, a Korean citizen and reporter for the Associated Press, heard about the invasion [from a South Korean general] three hours before Tokyo released the news. An hour after he rushed his story to a transmission station, military head-

quarters in Tokyo asked all wire services to kill any stories they might get on an invasion. It was too late. Some morning papers in America carried Shinn's accurate report and then Tokyo ordered all invasion stories released. Shinn, in the meantime, was reminded summarily by the Army that he had not been fully accredited as a correspondent. Temporarily he was denied use of Signal Corps phones from Korea to the AP in Tokyo. His stories, however, could still be filed by other AP men.

As Keyes Beech recalled later, he got ashore aboard a landing craft with columnist Joseph Alsop in the seventh or eighth wave, saw a slice of what was going on, and got a ride out to MacArthur's command ship, which was the only place from which he or other reporters could transmit their stories. He sent a "color" story. So did the *New York Herald Tribune's* Marguerite Higgins, who had gone ashore earlier. According to Beech and Handleman, several big-name newsmen (including Don Whitehead of AP and Homer Bigart of the *Herald Tribune*) were marooned on board a transport carrying follow-up Army Seventh Division troops. Their commander, presumably worried that his unit would lose out to the marines in terms of press coverage, refused to help the newsmen get ashore; they spent a day or two raging before they got free.

No firm estimate of how or when many reporters and photographers went ashore at Inchon (Operation Chromite) seems available. But veterans seem to think at least thirty reporters were on hand. (Others were, of course, covering the U.S. breakout from the Pusan perimeter.) The problems of newsmen at Inchon, as in most Korean battles, did not spring from deliberate military policy, but from the communications difficulties and general confusion inherent in rapidly moving major operations. Not surprisingly, most of the overall detail on the initial D-Day landing came out of MacArthur's command ship or from Tokyo — again without censorship.

Although press revelations endangered lives, plans, and operations, no serious losses could be directly attributed to them. The changing tide of battle probably had an influence. By mid-September 1950, Allied forces, under the UN flag, were able to launch an offensive and in October moved deep into North Korea. The disorganized North Korean Army apparently was unable to take advantage of the information revealed by the American press. But the situation changed in November: numerically superior forces from Communist China entered Korea and began driving Allied forces southward. The foe thus regained the initiative and could exploit whatever information he could obtain. The Allies' need to conceal the identity, strength, and movement of friendly troops therefore assumed even greater importance.

It was not until December 20, 1950, that the Far East Command imposed military censorship, after consulting news agency heads in Tokyo. "Effective immediately," the FEC information officer announced, "all press stories, radio broadcasts, magazine articles, and photography pertaining to military operations" were to be submitted for clearance before transmission. Within the FEC public information office, a Press Advisory Division was established in Tokyo to handle the job of



censoring the reports. In Korea, the Eighth Army organized a Press Security Division within its information office to perform censorship duties there.

Most correspondents (90 percent of them, according to one estimate) favored World War II-style military censorship; they were convinced that no other process could ensure military security. Some reporters in Korea, as in Tokyo, actively sought military censorship as a means of reducing the harmful side effects of the keen competition among themselves.

The imposition of military censorship, however, was no panacea. Though censors at FEC in Tokyo and Eighth Army Headquarters in Korea asked the same basic questions of material submitted to them, enough difference existed in the application of detailed criteria at each headquarters to create a variable kind of censorship.

On the other hand, some newsmen found that the differences in judgment provided an advantageous system of appeals. If, for example, their material failed to clear Eighth Army censorship, they could submit it again, sometimes with success, to the Tokyo censor's office. Some security information thus reached the press.

Nor was military censorship an insurmountable obstacle for those newsmen who chose to evade it. Under the established system in Korea, a correspondent was free, once his story was cleared by an Eighth Army censor, to phone his report to his Tokyo bureau or cable it to his home office. As predicted by the Eighth Army Public Information Officer in December 1950, this loophole was exploited by a few correspondents. For example, a prearranged code, called "twenty questions," was employed by some correspondents and their agency representatives in Tokyo to expand a cleared report. After a newsman had finished dictating his story from Korea to Tokyo over the phone, his Tokyo colleague would question him and receive answers as in the following:

*Question:* Are you coming over soon?

*Translation:* Do you expect that we will surrender Seoul?

*Answer:* I think so.

*Translation:* Yes.

*Question:* When do you expect to come?

*Translation:* When do you think we'll retreat from Seoul and go south of the Han River?

*Answer:* I'll try to leave in three or four days.

*Translation:* In the next three or four days.

"Twenty questions" lasted for only a short time. It was stopped when Eighth Army censors threatened to have correspondents guilty of such subterfuge expelled from Korea.

But the subterfuge continued to be used when correspondents decided to ignore completely both censorship requirements and the express requests of the army commander. On January 3, 1951, as Eighth Army troops withdrew before numerically superior Chinese forces, the order was given to evacuate Seoul and drop behind the Han River just below the city. The critical withdrawal across the river of large numbers of UN troops and

huge amounts of equipment could not be completed before the evening of January 4.

General Matthew B. Ridgway, who had taken command of the Eighth Army (after the death of Lieutenant General Walton Walker), therefore requested that correspondents help conceal the withdrawal from the enemy by holding their news stories of the event until the tactical move was completed. But by early morning of the 4th, the story already had appeared in print in the United States.

Three United Press men, two correspondents in Korea and the bureau manager in Japan, were responsible. Each had had access to army censors, but each had deliberately avoided them. The Eighth Army public information officer recommended to MacArthur's staff in Tokyo that the two correspondents in Korea be expelled and that the bureau manager in Tokyo be reported to his home office for disciplinary action. But MacArthur's headquarters took no action; the United Press ignored the incident. The editor-in-chief of International News Service, on the other hand, seemed to have been prompted by this incident to wire his Tokyo bureau manager that all INS members were to abide strictly by regulations and make no attempt to break censorship. "We place security far above any competitive advantage in reporting news," he stated.

Censorship in the war zone also had its geographical limitations. Following the costly UN retreat from North Korea, a number of correspondents returned to the United States, where they went on lecture tours, prepared dramatic magazine articles, and received a variety of awards for distinguished reporting. As the military saw it, these often were achieved at the expense of misleading the American public.

As the Chinese Communists pushed south, in January 1951, for example, predictions of impending disaster by journalists were widely disseminated. Don Whitehead and Hal Boyle of the Associated Press saw the demise of the U.S. Eighth Army, and during the same month, Jim Lucas of Scripps-Howard stated that the Eighth Army would be out of Korea in six weeks. The censors in Korea and Japan, of course, could do nothing to curb "news analysis."

... Censorship finally became a theater-level function on June 15, 1951. A single military censorship office in Tokyo, but with an operating detachment in Korea, handled all news stories. Direct telephone communications between the main office and the detachment were available. Both offices used the same criteria; "stops" and "releases" were uniformly applied; and all censors were uniformly trained in Tokyo. Meantime, the Eighth Army's role in the clearance process became an advisory one on tactical matters.

No censorship of the mails had been imposed; commercial telegraph, radio, and cable facilities, all of which were available in some part of Korea and all of Japan, were not monitored; nor were the Korea-Japan telephone circuits supervised. With regard to the latter, the Eighth Army chief censor had recommended in March that correspondents not be permitted to call in stories to their Tokyo representatives but be restricted to transmitting them over army-controlled teletype circuits. The recommended action was never taken. Hence, those correspon-



dents who chose to evade the clearance process still had the means to do so.

In addition, FEC censorship still could not prevent the disclosure of security information in reports prepared outside the theater, as the June 18, 1951, issue of *Newsweek* magazine made clear:

As Eighth Army Commander, both General Ridgway and his successor, Lt. Gen. James A. Van Fleet, had placed bans on the disclosure of the Eighth Army "order of battle" (the location and number of its major units). In an article describing a UN drive over the 38th parallel, the 18 June *Newsweek* noted the restriction: "Although censors cracked down on the identification of most UN units, they did clear broad hints that the victorious I Corps now comprised fighting men of eight nations, including three American divisions." But, ignoring its own reference to censorship, the magazine published on the same page a map of the battle area and the order of battle of I Corps.

When General Ridgway pointed out this violation, *Newsweek* explained that the information had been compiled from cleared dispatches and other information which had been "promoted to the Pentagon for clearance and clearance granted. . . ." Department of the Army officials, however, advised General Ridgway that neither the article nor map had been submitted either to the Army or Department of Defense for clearance. *Newsweek's* next response was that it had compiled the order of battle by piecing facts together. The magazine [editors] seemed not to realize that printing order of battle information was a dangerous breach of security. In an October 1951 issue of the magazine, the allied order of battle, this time of the entire Eighth Army, again appeared in map form.

While both the Department of the Army and the Department of Defense had security review agencies to which such articles should have been submitted, no compulsory censorship existed in the United States. Department of the Army officials attempted to prevent security breaches such as that committed by *Newsweek* through repeated requests to the wire services and press that they publish nothing concerning the strength and order of battle of UN forces.

In any event, *Newsweek* suffered no penalties for its breaches of the rules.

A new dimension in military-press relations arose in Korea near the end of 1951 as Western newsmen gathered at the Armistice talks at Panmunjom. Ironically, the Communists had initially objected to the UN proposal to bring twenty Allied newsmen and photographers to the conference area each day. Only after Admiral Turner Joy, the chief UN negotiator, refused to sit in further conferences until they gave in did the Communists yield. But late in 1951 the Western correspondents, according to the FEC public information officer, had entered into agreements with Communist journalists, namely Wilfred Burchett, an Australian correspondent for the French Communist paper *Ce Soir*, and Alan Winnington of the *London Daily Worker*. Specifically, the FEC public information officer told

the FEC chief of staff then serving under General Matthew Ridgway that "The Associated Press made arrangements to smuggle a camera into its captured correspondent [Frank] Noel. Carefully screened pictures, exhibiting only smiling and well-fed prisoners are then hand carried back. George Herman of Columbia Broadcasting, has challenged the censorship to stop the mailing by him of tape recordings or prisoner interviews, obtained by the same means."

The public information officer urged the chief of staff in January 1952 to order the "senior UN delegate to the Armistice Conference to take all necessary steps to bar physical and vocal contact including the passage of articles or messages of any kind, between the correspondents accredited to the UN Command present in Panmunjom, and the representatives, in any guise, of the enemy." He also urged that any newsman who attempted to circumvent such a curb be permanently barred from the conference site.

The action taken to meet this problem was milder. In February 1952, correspondents were admonished in a memorandum against inappropriate conduct while at the conference site. The matter apparently was not pursued further.

There were two other instances cited in army records of violations of censorship rules or simple inaccuracies. In one case:

An American Broadcasting Company correspondent broadcast the erroneous statement that Gen. Ridgway "suffered recurrent heart attacks." He did not submit this statement to censorship and, even when informed that the statement was untrue, insisted that "this story is on the level." The broadcast prompted Washington authorities to inquire of Gen. Ridgway's health. Gen. Ridgway replied that he was in fine fettle.

Throughout the conflict the FEC took few drastic steps against erring members of the press.\* The press complained that there were several cases of news suppression, notably one that FEC public information officers found fully justified. This involved the riots in the Kojedo prisoner-of-war camp in the spring of 1952. No information was released on the grounds that publicity might make such information a factor in the Panmunjom Armistice negotiations and might also adversely affect other military operations. When the information finally was

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\*We find nothing in the record to support the assertion in *The First Casualty* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1975) that General MacArthur expelled 17 journalists from Japan for criticizing his policies (p. 349). In his well-written, sketchily documented, widely read history of war reporting, the author, Philip Knightley, a British pacifist and London *Sunday Times* correspondent who never covered a war, contends that too many Western newsmen in Korea "became engrossed in describing the war in terms of military gains and losses rather than . . . trying to assess whether the [UN intervention] was justified. . . ." Mr. Knightley's assessment: "It remains difficult to name a single positive thing the war achieved" (p. 356).

released more than a month later, the story broke as an exposé.

There were delays, too, in the release of information concerning the prisoner's seizure of Brigadier General Francis T. Dodd, commander of the Kojedo POW camp, on May 7, 1952. For a brief time, in fact, no correspondents were permitted to visit the camp because of the tense situation that had arisen. One newsman, Sanford L. Zalberg, representing International News Service (although accredited to Reuters), managed to reach the island. He managed to stay eight hours before he was, in his own words, "firmly but politely" returned to the mainland. His story was held up for twenty-four hours, then, with the approval of his Tokyo bureau chief, was released as a pooler for all news services.

As it happened, when General Mark W. Clark replaced General Ridgway as UN commander-in-chief, he immediately instructed the Eighth Army commander, General James Van Fleet, to make a prompt and factual official account of all events and developments not only at Kojedo Island but at every POW camp under UN control.

In the opinion of B. C. Mossman, in a 1966 report prepared for the Moss Committee (House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information), the military-press relationship worked out fairly well. Now without avoidable red tape and administrative confusion, the military moved from an unworkable code of voluntary censorship to a compulsory review of press and radio reports.

In protecting vital military information, the censors actually applied only two basic measurements: (1) Would the release of a report offer aid and comfort to the enemy; and (2) would its release adversely affect the morale of UN troops fighting in Korea. As Mossman saw it, in spite of the fact that the inherently competitive nature of reporting and security requirements are natural enemies, most correspondents, especially seasoned ones, and the editors involved in covering the Korean conflict met the demands of censorship fairly. The FEC attempted to release the maximum of information.

It is not surprising that there were so few complaints by newsmen. If anything, the military held back on enforcement of its own rules. When it came to a question of punishing newsmen for major security breaches that did occur, the military and its civilian superiors in Washington contented themselves with relatively mild rebukes: not even the publication by *Newsweek* of maps showing the (classified) location of U.S. units provoked official retaliation. As far as can be ascertained, no newsman was denied accreditation or lost it. Ironically, the best-known incident of temporary disbarment, that involving AP's Tom Lambert, in July 1950, did not involve security information; as we have noted, it followed Lambert's own (vain) request that uniform censorship be imposed to reduce the dangers of security leaks engendered by the competitive zeal of the wire services. And there were few protests by newsmen over censorship, once it was imposed; censorship, as we have seen, did not inhibit "news analysis," even of the gloomiest sort, or criticism of the military, which was routine. The horrors of war were not suppressed. Until the front stabilized in mid-1951, the chief complaints among newsmen concerned the chronic

difficulties of communications and transport; later there were complaints over inadequate or misleading official UN briefings on the tortuous truce negotiations at Panmunjom. The inconclusive war became unpopular at home — an issue in the 1952 election — but neither General James Van Fleet nor other U.S. commanders in Korea later blamed this evolution on the security lapses, mood swings, exaggerations, or forebodings of the press. ■

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# The Bangladesh Press

James A. Rousmaniere Jr.

*Nineteen dailies and forty news weeklies make Dhaka a newspaper town.*

**D**HAKA — On the surface, this country does not present great prospects for newspapering. The West's first references to Bangladesh are famine, cyclone, and flood. The poverty is deep, the parliament is closed, the law is martial, and the country's hundred million citizens don't seem to have any reason whatsoever to be hungry for news.

Yet, this is a newspaper town.

Stand on a street corner in the morning and watch the news vendors arrive at their stations with their bundles of Bengali and English news publications. The sight is unusual: Hawkers lay their papers flat on the sidewalks, a few copies each of *The Bangladesh Observer*, *The Sangram*, the *Daily Ittefaq*, the *Sangbad*, *The New Nation*, the *Dainik Bangla*, the *Bangladesh Times*, the *Azad*, the *Daily News*, and on and on, spreading out nineteen locally published dailies, and that's before they get to the forty news weeklies published here.





Pressmen at The Daily Ittefaq

The unexpected mix of economics, politics, and journalism that disgorges so many news publications represents a process of Third World journalism that is much more than a flawed, primitive stage of Western newspapering. Once past being overwhelmed by the backwardness of the production process, one sees elements of editing and publishing that are, really, not too far from those at home.

But, oh, to get past some of the conditions: In the offices of *The Morning Post* and *The Saturday Post*, editor Habibul Bashar winds up an articulate discussion of Bangladesh politics and leads me into his composing room. It is dim, the elec-

tricity is out again, and in the darkness sit seven or eight people — illiterates. Surely they can't read the English they are setting by hand — that's right — letter-by-letter from lead alphabet bins. We walk into the next room where sits an aging orange Babcock press, later to be used by Bashar to print one cellophane impression of the pages now being set. The cellophane will be taken by rickshaw to an offset press elsewhere in the city for a reported press run of 12,000.

Bashar's papers are like most of the Dhaka papers: while many run a more sophisticated operation, almost all of them publish only four or six or eight

pages. Mostly they focus on national issues and mostly they lose money. They stay afloat because, in most cases, their backers aren't in it for the money and because the government indirectly subsidizes them.

The government accommodates this multitude of papers by distributing its advertising (to promote birth control, to solicit contract bids, among other things) with a marketing strategy that seems based less on commercial logic than on political consideration. Why else advertise in so many newspapers whose actual circulations are the secret of their owners? One reason: to subsidize the forums of varied political interests, which, in this



country, as in most others, are the founding forces of newspapers.

Clearly, the government advertising is important — it amounts to more than 65 percent of all paid newspaper advertising. For all the newspaper lifeblood there is in this system, the government, ironically, helps to keep the papers weak. The certainty of government advertising does not exactly fire the entrepreneurial spirit that is so important to newspaper independence. To define the potentials of that entrepreneurship, I recently undertook a newspaper marketing consultancy here for the Asia Foundation, a San Francisco-based nonprofit organization.

My report to the foundation included these lines:

“This environment, in which the government doles out as much as 65 percent of all newspaper advertising, does not encourage aggressive newspaper marketing. To be sure, newspaper owners aggressively reach for shares of this or that particular government promotion, but in the end it cannot be said the newspapers are appealing to the government’s marketing sense. No, they are calling for a favor.

“There are other institutional constraints on aggressive newspaper marketing. . . . These constraints include the fact that fully 90 percent of all newspaper advertisements come through advertising agencies and that as much as 95 percent of all Dhaka city newspaper sales go through hawker cooperatives. In both cases, then, in getting ads and in selling copies, the newspapers must rely almost passively on the enterprise of others. Finally, when faced with the government’s monopoly control of newsprint prices and supplies, and when told by a government wage board how much journalists should be paid, newspaper managers have little reason even to muse on the prospect of independent, creative growth management.”

Some Bangladeshi editors and publishers showed a real interest in aggressive marketing. They included executives from all ranges of papers — from those that are political party organs, those that are government-owned, and those strong enough to be independently anti-govern-



Setting type by hand, *The New Nation*

ment.

In each case, what they lack in business marketing, they have more than enough of in political drive. What’s striking in Bangladesh is the sheer number of political interests that have started papers. The phenomenon reflects two things: It doesn’t take a fortune to hire a small staff and run a newspaper and, since the 1971 independence, there has been a splintering of politics.

The gradations of political preference are as fine as you want them to be. In one national press institute account, the biggest English language newspaper, the *Bangladesh Observer*, is described as a “right-wing liberal daily.”

Whatever their ownerships or political leanings, most of the papers look like newspapers, not political handouts. There are occasional enterprise articles — on government crop spraying initiatives, on river water disputes, high usury rates in the rural areas, the limited use of the national language of Bengali in banking, jute industry developments, private sector investment shortfalls, the apparent uselessness of college degrees. There is also proof of recognizable newspaper standards: the untrained eye usually has to look very closely to find the political leaning of a paper’s owner off the editorial page.

Certainly the shadings are more ob-

vious to regular readers, particularly the political leaders and policy makers for whom much of the news is written, anyway, but the government allocates advertising to many of the newspapers. It is an effective partial subsidy. "The papers can't survive without the government's patronage," mutters Abdul Wahab, an older journalist who is uncomfortable with the idea of the press being reliant on government for money.

Newspapering here appears to be easy. The newsrooms look like American newsrooms used to look, with cigarette butts and crumpled papers on the floor. The air around the copy desk, however, is languid by American standards. The pulsebeat at night is steady and slow in daily newsrooms. It seems like an American metro's Saturday night, with much chatting and tea around the copy desk, where the work is done by pencil.

One night, visiting the newsroom of *The New Nation* daily, I found myself looking down my nose at the apparent softness of it all. That is, until I asked the news editor, a pleasant-faced man in his late 30's, what it was like when he was getting into the business:

"I was working with (*The People*) then," recalled the man, Amanullah Kabir: "I was coming back one day and it was shelled. The building and the press were destroyed during the independence war. Some of the others working there were killed. I fled and later I was able to join *The Bangladesh Times* which was started then (and was nationalized by the Dhaka government in 1974 after a political coup). Then I came here."

At that moment, while shutting off my smugness, he had identified the reference points of Bangladesh journalism: the liberation movement and the shaken days of young nationhood. All the real heroes of newspapering come from those times, and most are either dead or too old now. Today's reporters have only those early figures as models, and in private conversations they are bitter at editors for not letting them get inside political stories as those heroes did.

Many reporters and editors seem satisfied to let stories in effect tell themselves, one side at a time; it's reminiscent of the way so many American journalists not too long ago unquestioningly reported the reckless charges of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

One recent domestic wire service dispatch asserted flatly that the politically active widow of a slain president was the richest widow in all of Bangladesh. There was not much to back up the story, which obviously was politically inspired, and there was no response sought from her. But the story was played big in some newspapers. "It was stupid," complained a senior editor at one paper which gave the story a good ride. "I said, 'Look, we need more,' but the others said, 'We'll run her response tomorrow.'"

At Dhaka University, there are journalism lectures on fairness in news reporting. But there are times in those classrooms when the issue seems just so, well, academic. Midway through a recent talk at the journalism school, an articulate, energetic student interrupted the discussion with a question of obviously greater import that begged a quick answer, certainly in Third World circles: "Communication," she asked pointedly, "is it a right or a business?"

There are, in fact, some extremely tough realities to managing a newspaper in Bangladesh.

For one thing, the economy is hardly consumer-driven. There's very little middle-class; people read newspapers primarily for the news, not the ads. And what consumer products people do buy are not easily advertised: 60 percent of all consumer spending is for food, and so much of that is in bulk that there is little hope of generating advertising for those sales.

Some basic business conditions are quite different. Circulation income for most American newspapers accounts for only about 20 percent of overall revenues; in Bangladesh the figure is closer to 55 percent. Newsprint costs in the U.S. are perhaps 15 percent of total costs; in Bangladesh newsprint consumes 40

percent of spending.

Beyond the cold statistics is an unusual challenge posed by the hawker cooperatives. These agencies, a British legacy, have nearly total control over how a newspaper is distributed. When going up two or four pages, editors must increase their newsstand prices that day; otherwise the hawkers, who get 30 percent of the newsstand price as commission, may find they can get a better deal by taking the papers straight to the wastepaper markets, where they get paid by the kilo. If the newsstand price isn't raised, therefore, the readers may not see the paper.

Other vexations: Among advertising agencies, for example, there is a feeling that the newspapers don't make enough effort to define who they reach. Without that profile — which most papers are satisfied to define as anybody who can read, 26 percent of the huge population — the agencies are ill at ease getting too close to the papers.

Among advertising managers, there is a real feeling of vulnerability in dealing with editors, who at many newspapers have the authority to pull — and even add advertisements — on deadline for newsroom space considerations.

Among editors, there is a "Third Worldism" that sharply questions the play of too much developed-nation news over South Asian news on their pages. In fact, should Western news dominate the pages? At the same time, even as Indians and Bangladeshis and Nepalese call for more South Asian news, they concede an occasional uneasiness in relying on each others' news services. For example, in a report on talks in Nepal concerning water disputes between India and Bangladesh, can Bangladeshi editors trust the Indian wire service account as being unbiased? When was the last time an American editor automatically questioned the bias of a news service from a non-communist country?

Among other differences, libel is treated as the English do, whereby losers in civil actions must cover costs and fees — a discouragement to frivolous libel claims. At the same time, in Bangladesh there is a show of real self-discipline in the maintenance of a national press

council that passes public judgments on press excesses.

And then there is the matter of press freedom. In the United States, this issue encompasses illegal secreties of government meetings, withholding of public information, and occasional pressure from government officials who say that publication of a particular story — whether revealing a foreign troop training or the phantom purchase of land for a new industrial park — would not be in the “best interests” of all concerned.

In Bangladesh, the issue is more complex, because the government is so much more extensively involved with the press: The government licenses newspapers, owns the newsprint industry, effectively controls the flow of foreign news into the country, owns a couple of the newspapers, puts out the radio and television news, sets wage scales for newspaper reporters, provides more than 65 percent of all newspaper advertising, carries the cost of the new press club building in Dhaka, and is paying for a big new building for the press institute. In addition, since so much of the economy is nationalized, much of the business information flow is nationalized as well.

Yet there are few people who feel the government throws its weight as much as it could. There's little evidence the government selectively pulls advertising from papers it dislikes. As for nationalizing papers, the current administration has gone the other way and sold papers. It has closed a newspaper for printing a false report about Burmese insurgents getting Bangladesh aid. What do editors at other papers think about the banning? They answer, simply, that the ban has lasted a bit too long. There is in that response a feeling for the power and responsibility of the press that is blunter than in the United States.

In Bangladesh one still sees the press as a utility of revolution and nationhood. In neighboring India, Jawaharlal Nehru, as enlightened as he was on many issues before and after his country's independence, saw the press as merely a tool; he, like his daughter after him, slapped harsh controls on the press for not parroting his version of the news.

The fact that there are so many news



Copy desk, The New Nation

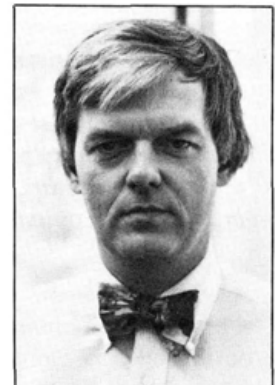
publications in Bangladesh suggests that the threat of government reaction is not too onerous — the chances of being publicly flogged, as happens in Pakistan, are probably zero. Indeed, the first years of revolutionary government were extremely tough for the press. In Bangladesh many papers were closed or nationalized and there was greater censorship in the mid-1970's. But now, as press curbs and nationalization are being reversed, editors here today complain about limits on the freedom of speech with an openness so self-assured that one comes away truly wondering how bad

it really is.

If the lot of newspaper editors were all that bad, there probably wouldn't be so many of them. But is there no limit to the number? Zakir Hussain, the 41-year-old editor of *The Morning Post*, was talking up plans for a brand-new newsweekly recently when he was interrupted with this point: There are already nineteen daily newspapers in Dhaka and there are forty weeklies. Why should there be one more?

The editor pondered that for about a second, and replied, smartly, “In that case, why *not* one more?” ■

*James A. Rousmaniere Jr. is editor and president of The Keene Sentinel, an independently owned afternoon daily in New Hampshire. He covered economics for The Baltimore Sun in its Washington bureau during the second half of the Carter administration and the beginning of the first Reagan administration. He has traveled extensively in South and Southeast Asia and from 1967 to 1969 was on Peace Corps assignment for irrigation development in India. Most recently, in February 1985, he conducted a newspaper marketing consultancy with the Asia Foundation in Dhaka, Bangladesh. (All photographs are by the author.)*





# Inside and Outside: The Prison Press

Don Sneed

*An overlooked branch of the Fourth Estate  
teaches a teacher.*

## CLICK, CLICK

This “faculty meeting” was unlike any other I had attended. Dr. Amir Wahaib, supervisor of the college program, urged new instructors not to correct inmates.

“A guard will be nearby if you need him,” Wahaib said. “Once we had an instructor who told an inmate to sit up straight in class. You can’t tell a guy who is in for fifty years for rape to sit up straight. The inmate threatened to beat up the instructor, and that teacher never came back.”

Thus began my education as a journalism instructor at Menard Correctional Center, a maximum security prison on the banks of the Mississippi River in southern Illinois. Earlier in the day a tour guide bubbled forth facts:

“The prison is built for 1,200 but houses 2,700.”

“Two men share cells built for one man.”

“You’ll meet Peter Nelson. He’s a clerk in the college office. He’s in for 600

years.”

To reach the education building, we walked through a series of gates and into a prison yard. Each time a gate opened and slammed shut, a loud click could be heard. The metallic sound of locks engaging and disengaging is an ever-present fact of life for members of the prison society, but for outsiders the clicks made an eerie, lasting impression. For a journalism teacher whose main focus has been on the free press clause of the First Amendment, freedom of association took on added meaning inside a walled fortress.

We’d been told that the prison isn’t a zoo, but once we entered the prison yard, filled with sweltering heat and idle inmates, the tables were turned. The glare of hundreds of pairs of eyes met us. I remember little about that first walk across the prison yard except for the shock in seeing two elderly inmates — one creeping along aided by a walker and another confined to a wheelchair. White hair and infirmities were two

things I had not associated with prison, but they were there along with what I had expected — lewd tattoos and earthy language.

Inside the education building, Wahaib said school supplies were scarce. I would have no VDTs or typewriters. But I would have as many window fans as I needed. The classrooms, however, were window-less and without air conditioning.

Enter Peter Nelson, soaked in sweat. Tall and courteous, he shook hands with each instructor. It dawned on me that he was the inmate serving the 600-year term. Before we left the college office, Nelson said he might enroll in news writing “to polish my writing skills.”

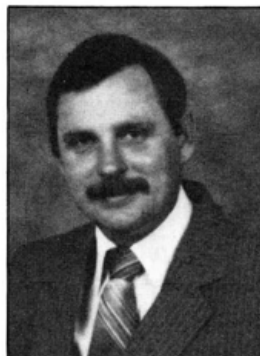
Afterward, I asked why Nelson was incarcerated. “He killed his wife and five children,” I was told. “He got a hundred years for each one. I understand it was a crime of passion. He’s well-educated, I guess you could tell. He has a master’s degree and was a business executive before it happened.”

## PUZZLES

The first class was important to me. I wanted to generate enthusiasm for news writing, but I wasn’t quite sure that the inmates would be motivated to learn even though Wahaib said that most of the dozen in my class were editors or staff writers for Menard’s prison newspaper. He assured me that I would be surprised by their interest.

To teach writing, I drew a jigsaw puz-

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zle on the board, with pieces for the who, what, when, where, and why. The inmates had little trouble, and although some of their leads had missing elements, we studied the good points of each lead written.

After more eagerly done lead puzzles we turned to use of the *AP Stylebook*.

Is it Dr. Pepper or Dr Pepper? The stylebook has the answer, I told them. We moved on to abbreviations and acronyms. ERA? It could mean earned run average or Equal Rights Amendment. So said Peter Nelson. Another inmate wanted to know why ERA didn't contain some word related to women. I remembered that I'd been told I would be surprised by the questions asked.

Leon Washington, an inmate serving a life term for murdering a police officer, provided an answer, one that didn't fully satisfy the group. Thus began an exchange that eventually concluded the term "equal" could be replaced by "women's" and that the change would do no harm to the intent of the proposal. During the debate, I learned a valuable lesson — that professors need to listen as well as lecture. Inmates are lectured each day; only the classroom environment gives them a real chance to be heard.

During the second half of the three-hour class, we talked about gathering news. Since opportunities for actual legwork were severely limited, I walked the inmates through an interview by giving them a hypothetical news event.

"Pretend you are a reporter and that you walk into your office one morning and find a note from your editor saying there's been a fire. What do you do?" I asked.

"Call the fire department," Washington said.

"And then what?" I asked.

"Ask where the fire was," an inmate replied.

"Was anybody hurt?" another inmate suggested.

"How much damage was done?"

"You are missing something," I said.

"What caused the fire?" an inmate said.

Throughout, one inmate remained silent. He was busy writing, but I knew not to correct him. Near the end of class,

I asked for a lead to be written. Next, I asked for the elements of the lead to be put inside a jigsaw puzzle and the who, what, when, where, and why labeled.

At the end of class, the inmate who had been silent came to me with his hand outstretched. I shook it. "I like doing this," he said, grinning through the two or three teeth he seemed to have. "This makes you think," he added. Think, he did. He was the only inmate to have the full fire story written. Not just a lead, but a complete fire story.

Wahaib came to the door. "Hurry and let's wind up for today," he said. "This is an institutional holiday and there's no security in this building. The guards are all gone for the day, and we're the only ones here."

### "GOOD TIME"

After having taught high school for ten years, I had a preconceived notion that discipline might be a problem in prison teaching. Nothing could have been further from the truth. In the weeks ahead, I would learn why. Accumulation of "Good Time" — time subtracted from an inmate's sentence for good behavior and good grades in the prison education program — was a primary reason the inmates behaved so well. In addition, participation in the education program allowed many inmates three hours outside of their cells. And, some inmates genuinely became interested in earning a GED (high school equivalency certificate) or a college education. Jim Lippert, a lifer who worked in the college office, said an inmate's motivation to behave and to excel in the classroom is "a way to catch up on a missed opportunity." He's probably right. Before his imprisonment, Lippert taught for twenty-seven years in Illinois public schools.

### COMING ALIVE

I invited three guests to class to allow the inmates to write about a panel discussion. The panelists were: Abe Aamidor, a Southern Illinois University maga-

zine writing instructor who is now a staff writer for the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*; Dyhana Ziegler, who was a doctoral student and a former CBS employee in New York and who now is a faculty member at Jackson State University; and Karen Torry, then editor of the Southern Illinois University campus newspaper and now a graduate student in journalism. The panelists were deluged with questions, and the appearance of the two women proved to be just the tonic the inmates needed.

Ordinarily, some inmates came to class sockless and unshaven, wearing wrinkled shirts. But with the advance billing of the guests, something happened. The inmates put on their Sunday best: pressed shirts, blue jean jackets with monogrammed names, socks, and shined shoes.

Torry was surprised to learn that the inmates read her stories regularly. The inmates were curious about many things: Did sources at the university attempt to influence what she wrote? Are campus newspaper writers paid? How does the Southern Illinois campus newspaper rate with other college newspapers?

Questions directed at Ziegler were somewhat different, perhaps because she is black and perhaps because of her national news media experience. Is it difficult for a black person to get a job in the news media? How many black women are in news media management positions?

Aamidor answered questions about freelance writing. Realistically, he said, none of the inmates would be likely to land a job as a newspaper reporter because newspapers place such a high premium on credibility. But, he said, they might be able to market freelance articles.

Bringing in the panelists stimulated the prisoners in ways that no teacher, no matter how gifted, might have done.

"You have to keep your mind active to keep your sanity here," Washington said. "There aren't enough programs to keep all the prisoners busy, and the kinds of activities that are offered don't always challenge you. Making license plates is better than sitting in a cell, but it's no challenge."

Listening to the discussion generated by the appearance of the panelists helped change my perspective on what journalism teachers should do. Seeing the spontaneity of thoughts provoked in the prison class has caused me to spend more time in all my classes getting students to understand and analyze what they write about instead of spending an inordinate amount of time on writing skills.

## LOCKSTEP

Another lesson I learned in prison is that inmates are keen observers of prison conditions. Because they can never get away from their work or their home — which are one and the same — talk of prison conditions is never far removed from any inmate's conversation. I also grew to respect the prison press. The inmate writer offers a perspective on prison life and conditions that no journalist from the free world can convey as well.

"There's no rehabilitation here," said Richard Coleman. "You'd think the sentence would be enough punishment, but life is miserable in here."

I agree. It didn't take me long to realize that even the prison education program — which should be at the vanguard of rehabilitation — isn't viewed that way. Instead, the education program is merely another means that prison officials use to maintain control over the prison population. Education, like softball, keeps minds and bodies occupied — minds and bodies that might otherwise create problems for the prison system.

"The system reduces you to something less than a human, and you don't know how to cope on the outside," Washington said. "When you are released or paroled, they give you one hundred dollars and that doesn't go far. So you do the only thing you know how to do — you commit another crime."

"Prison is dehumanizing," Coleman said. "Before I was incarcerated, using the bathroom was a private matter. But here we live in a seven-by-ten-foot cell where you use a commode with your cellmate. Have you ever tried to use the toilet with people all around you?"

Before I'd embarked on my prison teaching assignment, I thought prisons should lock up inmates and throw away the key. But, my attitude has been altered. Some — not all — inmates could become productive members of society if the prison system could find ways not to march in lockstep and treat all inmates the same. Prisons house inmates who have flown off the handle once and murdered in a crime of passion. Such inmates could be culled out and sincere efforts made to rehabilitate them.

Instead, inmates are herded here and there. They are told when to wake up, when to eat, and where to go. After years of having decisions made for them, most inmates have lost their ability to handle their own lives. What that meant for me as a teacher is that I had to spell out assignments and grading procedures in the most rudimentary way. I had to state over and over — even for the well-educated inmate — what my objectives for the lesson were, how the work was to be done, and how work was to be graded.

## CRIME STORIES

Toward the end of the semester, I asked the inmates whether they would object to writing crime stories. Far from objecting, they relished the task. The only problem was that several inmates embellished the stories — putting in opinion, glorifying crime, and taking pleasure in pointing out mistakes made by law enforcement officials.

At one point, I brought in a series of crime stories that were badly flawed. In a couple of instances, writers had written libelous statements, labeling persons who had been arrested and charged with crimes as bandits or culprits.

We talked about the U.S. Constitution and how in the United States a person is innocent until proven guilty — that before someone can call a bandit a bandit in a news story, he has to be tried and convicted. Those remarks drew immediate skepticism. To a man, the inmates differed with me. "In this country a person is guilty until he's proven innocent," one of the inmates said.

During the final two weeks of class, I decided the inmates should write for publication as an added incentive. So, I negotiated with the prison newspaper editor who agreed to publish the best inmate-authored feature or news story.

Every inmate jumped at the chance to do a "live" story. Carlos Torres did a "man in the prison yard" survey on reactions to the television movie, *The Day After*. Mayo Turner wrote about "Ice Man," an inmate who derived power from handing out a precious prison commodity — ice — to inmates who could pay the price.

The writing exercise was a fitting conclusion to the class which ended all too soon. Today, Leon Washington serves as editor of Menard's prison newspaper, and he, better than any Menard inmate, understands how fragile press freedom is inside prison. Recently, he announced that a column which accepted inmate complaints and then provided answers to those complaints from prison officials would be discontinued. Peter Nelson, who serves as the prison newspaper's religion editor, has written that censorship in the Menard newspaper means submitting articles to the public information office at the Illinois corrections system state capital headquarters prior to publication.

I took the prison teaching job thinking I would gain an education. I gained that and something more. I gained respect for the prison press and respect for the U.S. Constitution which extends freedom of expression into the authoritarian world of prisons. I also gained a better understanding of the potentially volatile climate that exists inside prisons. I know that prison publications must be censored at times because words can easily provoke violent reactions among inmates.

What's more, I recognize my own naïveté about prisons. In Texas, I polled 130 journalism majors and found none of them had ever visited one. Now, I take them on tours of state prisons and have had inmates visit class as part of the Texas Department of Corrections Community Education program. Soon, these journalism majors will graduate and will begin writing about crime, the courts,

and prisons. I'm twenty years their senior, but they have learned something more than I did — and much earlier — about the prison press, prison conditions, and prisoners. Every journalism teacher should spend some time in prison. It would make him or her a better teacher — one who could convey what the First Amendment's freedom of association and freedom of the press clauses mean in theory and reality.

*The following two articles appeared in The Houston Post. On June 27, 1985, Mark Sanders, of the Post's Austin bureau, told of the Texas Department of Corrections' decision to cancel publication of Joint Endeavor, a magazine produced by inmates in the Huntsville (Texas) Prison.*

*On July 12, Professor Don Sneed wrote an opinion piece in response to the TDC's ruling and described what is happening in the courts with regard to the prison press.*

DON SNEED

The Texas Department of Corrections' recent decision to cancel publication of a magazine produced by prison inmates may have opened a new can of legal worms if inmates decide to challenge the action on grounds it violates their First Amendment freedom of expression rights.

Publication of the magazine, *Joint Endeavor*, which is circulated inside and outside the prison system and carries advertising from merchants across the

## TDC kills prisoners' magazine

By MARK SANDERS  
Post Austin Bureau

AUSTIN — The Texas Department of Corrections confirmed Wednesday that the system has canceled publication of a magazine produced by prison inmates.

Although the last issue of the magazine carried a lengthy article critical of TDC, a prison spokesman said the publication was not halted because of content.

Joint Endeavor, a slick, quarterly publication, was killed by TDC officials who claimed it was costing too much.

Phil Guthrie, a TDC spokesman, said Lane McCotter, who became director of the state prison system on June 17, approved canceling the magazine on June 11 while he was a deputy director.

"This is not a journalism issue," Guthrie said. "This magazine had been produced with the understanding it was subject to censorship and enlightened editing."

The magazine, produced by inmates in the Huntsville prison unit, began in 1973 as a newsletter but had grown to a 60- to 70-page production.

It was supported by advertising from merchants across the state and was circulated inside and outside the prison walls.

Guthrie said the magazine was canceled because of the increased printing costs and the fact that the TDC print shop was overburdened.

But a letter from an editor, Michael Vines, indicated the magazine was canceled because prison officials did not like what the writers were reporting.

Vines has authored numerous articles for the *Texas Observer* that were critical of the prison system.

In a June 19 letter Vines wrote: "I believe (TDC) is trying to close down *Joint Endeavor*" because of his *Observer* pieces.

The last issue of *Joint Endeavor* carried a lengthy interview with state Rep. Ray Keller, R-Duncanville. Keller has been a vocal critic of the TDC.

When asked to explain his history of attacks on TDC, the magazine quoted Keller as saying:

"I set out to, frankly, get rid of the management of this agency. The people I set out to get rid of don't work here anymore."

state, was terminated by TDC officials who claimed it was costing too much and that the TDC print shop was overburdened.

Those reasons, however, may not withstand constitutional scrutiny if inmates contest the issue on First Amendment grounds.

Contrary to a statement from a TDC official, the issue is indeed a journalism issue, especially since the prison press — a virtually forgotten branch of the Fourth Estate — recently has won several First Amendment legal battles involving cancellation of publication or censorship of content in inmate-authored publications.

Predictably, TDC officials say the decision to kill *Joint Endeavor* has nothing to do with content, while the magazine's editor, who has written several articles in different forums critical of the prison system, claims TDC officials did not like what the magazine was reporting.

Regardless, TDC may be in for another legal headache, considering that in recent years the courts have largely abandoned the "hands-off" doctrine, the judicial policy of non-intervention in prison affairs. Today courts have shown a willingness to hear First Amendment prison press claims, and, clearly, the message from the courts is that one of the rights inmates do not leave outside the prison gates is freedom of the press.

Of course, the courts have not given inmates an absolute right to publish anything and everything. Nor have the courts granted prison officials an absolute right to censor or cease publication of inmate newspapers and magazines.

Instead, in deciding prison press cases, the courts have taken a "balancing" approach, weighing the state's interest in prison security, order, and rehabilitation, and the furtherance of "legitimate penological objectives," against the inmates' right to free speech.

The courts also have continued to allow a substantial degree of deference to the decisions of prison administrators. But the courts have shown a willingness to review the decisions of prison administrators and to provide relief if prison officials have violated statutory or constitutional law by imposing restrictions



on inmates' free speech rights.

In a 1982 case, for example, prison officials rejected publication of articles written by inmates in the *Soledad Star News* which officials claimed were "an attack on the administration." The California Supreme Court ordered that the articles at issue be published, holding that the corrections system cannot censor material merely because "it disagrees with the views presented, objects to inmate criticism of administration policy, or seeks to avoid discussion of controversial issues."

In a 1983 case, the California Court of Appeal held that a cartoon and a photograph, neither of which was obscene nor a threat to prison security, must not be denied publication in the inmate newspaper in violation of an inmate's First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech.

The court held that publication of the cartoon and photograph, at most, might likely subject the prison to censure or disrepute — insufficient grounds to deprive inmates of their First Amendment rights.

Also, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit held in a 1979 case that prison officials can suppress publication of an inmate magazine if they reasonably believe that the magazine's content would threaten the state's legitimate interests.

However, a comment in the *Virginia Law Review* argues that the court's reliance on the "reasonable belief" standard — enunciated in a U.S. Supreme Court decision — was misplaced because the two cases were entirely different in nature since the Supreme Court case involved freedom of association rather than freedom of speech.

Unfortunately, no U.S. Supreme Court decision provides controlling authority for defining the scope of prisoners' First Amendment speech rights.

What is certain, though, is that courts recognize that inmate journalists retain the right to be free from content-based restrictions on speech provided the inmate-written material does not threaten any legitimate governmental interests.

In addition, the courts generally have required that prison officials justify con-

tent-based restrictions, thus putting the burden of proof on prison administrators. Furthermore, some courts have required procedural safeguards to protect inmates from arbitrary and discriminatory restrictions, including expeditious review for challenges to restrictions, notice of and reason for rejection of materials, and a reasonable opportunity to protest to someone not involved in the original decision to deny publication.

Importantly, prison press cases find a close analogy in school press cases in which the state, as publisher, has on occasion canceled publication of a campus newspaper usually because school officials object to content.

In relying on school press cases, some courts which have dealt with prison press cases have noted that prisons, like schools, have a special environment where the state has an interest in exercising control over discipline, order, and security.

But the courts have ruled also that once a college establishes a newspaper or magazine, publication cannot be suppressed by college officials because of dislike for its content. Nor does the state's financial support of the campus newspaper or magazine compel a different conclusion.

In one campus newspaper case, the court said: "Censorship of constitutionally protected expression cannot be imposed by suspending the editors, suppressing circulation . . . excising repugnant materials, withdrawing financial support, or asserting any other form of censorial oversight based on the institution's power of the purse."

No doubt, any inmate challenge to suppression of *Joint Endeavor* would rely heavily on arguments from these school press cases which are cited as compelling arguments in prison press cases won by inmate journalists.

To be sure, inmate journalists may find themselves winning a few battles but losing the war.

Any sophisticated prison administration can conjure up ways to circumvent the jurisprudence building in support of inmates' free speech rights. Still, withdrawal of financial support may not be the best legal route.

Instead, basing the decision to halt publication of *Joint Endeavor* in the legal vagueness of furtherance of a "legitimate penological objective" might be a better course. Courts have neglected to explain what constitutes such objectives. If courts were to include a broad range of interests under that rubric, it would have a profoundly negative impact on the publication of prison magazines and newspapers. Penological objectives are so numerous that censorship of almost any article in the prison press might meet such a standard.

Of even greater concern than the possibilities of excessive interference, according to a *University of San Francisco Law Review* comment, "is that this broad discretion only ostensibly will be used to accomplish valid penological objectives, while the true purpose will be to suppress unwelcome criticism or to eliminate unwelcome ideas with which the administration disagrees."

Whatever the case, prison officials may have been a bit hasty in halting publication of *Joint Endeavor*, citing financial reasons for withdrawal of support. Other prison administrations have suppressed publications or obtained inmate publications more in conformity with their views by transferring inmate editors to different jobs within the prison. Some prison administrators have even transferred inmate journalists to different institutions — an action that the U.S. Supreme Court has said does not abridge an inmate's constitutional rights.

In California, the editor of the *Soledad Star News* says that transfers and formal censorship by prison officials are only two weapons in an arsenal available to prison officials who may want to prevent a story from being printed. Other methods, according to the editor, include unexplained publishing delays, limiting funding, and reducing newspaper staff size.

But TDC did none of these things. What happened with *Joint Endeavor* was equivalent to TDC imposing a prior restraint, an ill-advised action which has long been met with disapproval by the courts. ■

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## Prolonged Surrender to Reality: U.S. Media Coverage of Revolutions

William Worthy

*A political memory compares press treatment of major changes.*

**I**f I were new to revolutionary governments, if I had no political memory, if I lacked any sense of *déjà vu*, if I had never been to China, Cuba, Algeria, North and South Vietnam in the 1950's and 1960's, and to Iran since the Shah's overthrow, what would U.S. media reports have led me to believe about the Islamic revolution, starting with the hostage crisis on November 4, 1979?

I would have pictured total chaos: no government in place, to speak of; "imminent release" of the hostages by the handful of "good" Iranians (President Abolhassan Bani Sadr and Foreign Minister Sadegh Gotbzadeh); the streets unsafe because of wholesale anti-government violence organized by the youthful, idealistic Marxist Mujahedeen (oddly, the first avowedly socialist guerrilla-style movement ever favorably covered by our

capitalist media); bearded, medieval incompetent clerics running a popularly despised regime and about to be overthrown any day by the oppressed people, by pro-Western elements in the military, and/or by the Mujahedeen; the top cleric, in his late 70's or early 80's, obviously insane — at best senile, at death's door, wholly unaware of what it takes to run a modern state; virtually hourly executions at Tehran's Evin prison; the people

All photographs by Randy Goodman, taken in Tehran.

starving; the country "isolated" and a pariah in the world community; the economy in shambles; the country ripe for a Soviet takeover; an obvious military pushover when Iraq invaded on September 22, 1980, et cetera.

Slowly but surely, Americans who don't like to be fooled have begun to realize that those images of a botched, terror-ridden, "fundamentalist" Islamic revolution have not met the test of time. Last autumn *The Economist* of London reported: "In contrast to Baghdad — where Iraqis do not invite foreigners into their homes, and criticize the regime only where they cannot be overheard — Tehran does not feel like the capital of a police state. Iranians welcome foreigners, criticize the regime, and drink freely."

To gain perspective on U.S. media coverage of the Islamic revolution, it is necessary to step back and review media performance in earlier revolutions. In *The Boston Sunday Globe Magazine* of April 21, 1968, I quoted Lucien Price, the *Globe's* highly respected "Uncle Dudley" editorial writer for 45 years:

"From my box seat, I know that most of the U.S. press has lied about every major revolution of the twentieth century."

Documentation of Price's observation isn't hard to come by. In 1920 Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz compiled a devastating survey of how *The New York Times* had reported the first two years of the Russian Revolution. A few quotes provide the flavor:

In the two years from November 1917 to November 1919, no less than

ninety-one times was it stated that the Soviets were nearing their rope's end, or actually had reached it. In arriving at this computation no count is made of the ordinary reports that Russia was in chaos. . . . Thirty different times the power of the Soviets was definitely described as being on the wane. Twenty times there was news of a serious counter-revolutionary menace. Five times was the explicit statement made that the regime was certain to collapse. And fourteen times that collapse was said to be in progress. Four times Lenin and Trotzky [sic] were planning flight. Three times they had already fled. . . .

Once more, with the failure of the White Armies, the Red Peril reappears. The news as a whole is dominated by the hopes of the men who composed the news organization. They began as passionate partisans in a great war in which their own country's future was at stake. . . . They wanted to win the war; they wanted to ward off bolshevism. . . . They accepted and believed most of what they were told by the State Department, the so-called Russian Embassy in Washington. . . . and the agents and adherents of the old regime all over Europe. . . . They accepted reports of governmentally controlled news services abroad, and of correspondents who were unduly intimate with the various secret services and with members of the old Russian nobility [emphasis added]. . . .

From the point of view of professional journalism the reporting of the Russian Revolution is nothing short of a disaster. On the essential questions the net effect was almost always mis-

In Moscow in the early 1920's, Lenin once joked with U.S. correspondents about the number of times they had reported his death. By the late 1960's, a friend at Time Inc. had counted close to one hundred U.S. media reports of Mao's death. Aside from a possible conscious or subconscious hope of spreading destabilizing panic and demoralizing confusion, I've never been able to figure out the "thinking" that goes into such easily refuted rumor-mongering.

leading, and misleading news is worse than none at all. . . . They can fairly be charged with boundless credulity, and an untiring readiness to be gulled, and on many occasions with a downright lack of common sense.

For one example of intellectual dishonesty — namely, playing a story both ways — Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz came down particularly hard on *The New York Times*. While telling readers an average of twice a week about the collapsing Russian revolution, the editors and correspondents at one and the same time were portraying the Bolshevik "cadaver" as a "mortal menace" to the rest of Europe.

Almost word for word, the pattern has been repeated in U.S. media coverage of the Chinese, Cuban, and Islamic revolutions. Each has been repeatedly accused of spreading revolution and "subversion" in its geographic area and beyond, while being portrayed as a miserable failure by not meeting even the subsistence needs of its own people.

Only a gullible American public would go on, revolution after revolution, decade after decade, swallowing what Lippmann and Merz nailed as "double-think" long before George Orwell coined the word. Even if a dying or already dead revolutionary government somehow managed to spread feeble propaganda beyond its own borders, what

William Worthy, Nieman Fellow '57, is a freelance journalist in Boston. The above piece, researched in part by Deirdre Hiebert, is an expanded version of a lecture and slide show on Iran given by Worthy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government on March 6, 1985. Both Hiebert and photographer Randy Goodman were with him during his third trip to Iran in 1983.



Randy Goodman

revolution-hungry people anywhere on earth would buy into and emulate a widely heralded and demonstrable failure?

In 1961, forty-one years after the Lippmann-Merz survey, General Lazaro Cardenas, who served as president of Mexico in the 1930's, was interviewed in *The New Statesman* by K. S. Karol.

I told him [wrote Karol] that . . . in Washington . . . a Kennedy aide . . . told me that the U.S. was not opposed to revolutions or nationalization: they were against the Castro regime simply because it was Communist. . . .

He could not believe his ears. . . . He said:

"I don't like to drag up the past. . . . But if they tell you that the nationalization of U.S. firms in Mexico [in 1938] was accepted with good grace by the Americans, then I am forced to tell you the truth, as I and my country know it. I had no intention, when I came to power, to expropriate the oil companies. . . . But I had made it possible for trade unions to organize themselves and passed legislation for the benefit of the urban workers.

"The oil companies refused to apply these laws. . . . When (the Supreme Court of Mexico) found against them, the companies simply declared that they were not accustomed to taking orders from Mexican courts. Only after this flagrant violation of our sovereignty did I decide to nationalize the oil industry. . . . The U.S. sent us a kind of ultimatum. . . . In the U.S. [the oil companies] financed a ferocious press-campaign. Believe it or not, in those days the U.S. press presented us in exactly the same light as they present Castro today. Even the serious newspapers described me as a thief. Congressmen stated that Mexico was bankrupt and that my promises to pay compensation were valueless. Many Americans demanded military intervention. It was not a matter of political ideologies, simply a sordid dispute about cash."

Lippmann's acid phrases help explain why our U.S. media fall into the same nationalistic mold every time there's a new revolution — in Iran or elsewhere — that's out of favor with Washington. In the October 1961 *Nieman Reports*,



Revolutionary Guards parade to celebrate the formation of the Corps.

Robert Sollen of the Oxnard, California, *Press-Courier* also helped explain the recurring pattern, in his article "Wire Service Nationalism and Its Consequences."

"Nationalism," he wrote, quoting from Eric Fromm in *The Sane Society*, "is our form of incest, is our idolatry, is our insanity." In 1983, when photographer Randy Goodman was about to leave for Iran, a New York-based photo editor, whose daily selection of news pictures

helps to mold world public opinion, told her bluntly that he'd be interested *only* in "good and barbaric" photos from Iran. Several months earlier in Tehran, an American staffer on an English-language daily was a few blocks from his office one morning when a huge bomb went off in a nearby square. Before he reached his desk a few minutes later, U.S. wire service bureaus in Nicosia had already moved the story, in some detail,



on their wires — well before reporters for IRNA, the official Iranian news agency, had had time to collect and report the facts.

The incident reminded me of a similar occasion in 1961 in Cuba when the CIA-financed underground was planting bombs in kindergartens and department stores, as came to light during congressional investigations in the 1970's. At 9:03 one evening, over a Western Union teleprinter in his Havana bureau office, one of our eager U.S. wire service correspondents reported a bomb explosion that, awkwardly for him, was five minutes behind schedule and didn't actually go off until 9:08 P.M. Not long afterwards, during the Bay of Pigs invasion, he and most U.S. reporters were rounded up, jailed, and later deported.

With few exceptions, the American people for years after a revolution receive totally negative journalistic images, with virtually nothing to suggest a return to normalcy in the lives of most of the people. During my "unauthorized" trip to China in 1956-57, I filmed a Peking ice-skating rink for CBS Television News and also for U.S. lecture audiences. China at the time was very much in our official and journalistic doghouse, and Americans were amazed to see "communists" ice-skating — or, indeed, engaged happily in any form of recreation. At Oberlin College, a senior came up to me to make a sheepish confession after viewing that footage. The previous summer his roommate had visited Moscow and, on his return to campus, showed slides of the Kremlin in brilliant sunlight.

"Until that moment," said the student, "it had never occurred to me that the sun ever shone in the Soviet Union."

Were footage available, most Americans would be equally surprised to see Randy Goodman and me one evening in Tehran riding with kids and their parents in space ships and on ferris wheels in an amusement park. The popular image of that ancient land, thanks to media coverage, is of a joyless, boundless black hole.

That image of bottomless and impenetrable evil would be called into immediate question if the American people knew about Iran's humanely and efficiently run camps for the three million



Young supporters of the Islamic Revolution march during the Revolutionary Guard Day celebration.

refugees from the Iraqi and Afghan wars. Under Imam Khomeini's directive, guidelines, and overall supervision, all duly reported in the Iranian media, the War Refugee Foundation was set up and originally headed by Mustafa Mir Salim, an enormously impressive administrator who is now top executive assistant to President Ali Khamene'i.

Shortly after my China visit, I shared

a platform in West Newbury, Massachusetts, with Saville Davis, then the national editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*. I told of my first CBS shortwave broadcast from Peking and of the congratulatory cablegram from the New York desk several hours later. But the cable had ended with a request that, in future broadcasts, I use the old Kuomintang name for the capital — Peiping



(spelled out phonetically in the cable) — rather than the new “communist” name given to the city by Mao’s government. To the State Department in those days, the use of “Peking” bestowed respectability and legitimacy on what Secretary of State John Foster Dulles decreed was a “passing phase” in China.

David Chipp, the no-nonsense Reuters correspondent in Peking, was both amused and appalled by the childish request. He said: “At the end of your next broadcast when you come to the return cue, you should say: ‘This is Bill Worthy in Peiping. Now back to CBS News in New Amsterdam.’”

The largely conservative lecture audience in suburban West Newbury roared appreciatively. Several days later the *Monitor* quietly switched from Peiping to Peking. But though I similarly alerted *The New York Times*, its adjustment to reality took until about 1960.

With that eleven-year-long time span as a precedent — eleven years, that is, after the communists took power in China in 1949 — I told Iran’s Foreign Minister, Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, in an informal conversation that along about 1990 he could expect the more advanced of the U.S. media to stop using “Ayatollah” Khomeini, and to start referring to



Moslem women at Friday Prayer show their support for the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war.



A Moslem woman holds a card of Khomeini during a Women’s Day celebration and protest.

him by his proper title “Imam.” Like David Chipp of Reuters, Dr. Velayati, who was trained as a pediatrician at Johns Hopkins, was quite amused. “1990,” he repeated in a soft voice. By analogy, it’s as if the Reverend Jesse Jackson, to show his displeasure over the Pope’s denunciation of liberation theology in the Third World, started downgrading him to “Cardinal.”

Hannah Arendt said that “he who understands revolution understands the future.” The longer it takes our media to come to terms with revolutionary realities, the more dangerous the world becomes. The problem stems from a combination of nationalism, cultural bias, what Catholic theology calls “invincible ignorance,” and almost wilful insensitivity to peoples asserting their



Photographs decorate the gravesites of martyrs killed in the Iran-Iraq war. A relative prays.

newly won sovereignty. At Boston Latin School and Bates College, I did not pass courses in physics, chemistry, and biology. Today, I'd not consider it censorship if a scientific association barred me from covering its convention, were any editor so irresponsible as to assign me, and were I so presumptuous as to accept such an assignment. There are reasonable limits to the prerogatives of fallible assignment editors.

Similarly, as a card-carrying, dues-paying member of the American Civil Liberties Union, I could not criticize any problems-beset revolutionary government or movement for barring a U.S. journalist who hasn't done his/her homework, and who is as much an ignoramus in the area of revolution and counterrevolution as I am in the field of

science. As Louis Armstrong once put it: "Some people, if they don't know, you can't tell 'em."

Iran is not and has not been collapsing. All along, the government has enjoyed popular legitimacy. In 1984 alone, 153,000 Iranians flew as pilgrims to Mecca. That year, four hundred thousand in all took trips abroad, including fifty thousand from the business community. If any took those occasions to defect, I've yet to hear about it. Despite many wire-service bulletins reporting his death, Imam Khomeini's wife of some sixty years still takes very good care of him, and I doubt he'll give Washington the satisfaction of dying any time soon. The ghoulish speculation about Iran after his death should cease — if not out of respect for good taste, then be-

cause there won't be any substantive change in direction. The revolution has long since been institutionalized.

With a new Islamic interest-free banking system, Iran's debt-free economy is the envy of a Third World saddled with impossible debt loads and usurious rates of interest. As a matter of policy, the Islamic Republic has paid off the entire \$15 billion foreign debt it inherited from the Shah. The government is not and never was "isolated"; as of 1983, Tehran had diplomatic — and in many cases, commercial — relations with over 110 countries, including many in the Third World.

Barnum once said: "The public likes to be fooled." In his day and setting, the price of deception was only the cost of a ticket to the three-ring Barnum and

Bailey circus. Today, the price of being lulled into contrived untruths can be nuclear suicide. Two years ago Hussein Mollanazar, deputy director of Iran's Foreign Press Office, was evaluating U.S. media coverage of his country. To Randy Goodman and me he recalled an ancient Persian fable of a stranger arriving in a town early one morning and, for whatever reason, telling everyone — falsely — that free soup was being given out on the other side of town. Everyone rushed off

to get some. That afternoon, a town resident met the stranger and eagerly passed on the tale of the free soup — at which point the newcomer himself hurried away to partake!

In that ultimate irony of deceivers deceiving themselves lies the tragedy of the incestuous pack journalism that prevailed at the U.S. Embassy gate in Tehran. In 1980, on my fourth day there, I referred in my "Tehran Diary" piece (*Boston Phoenix*, March 4, 1980) to the

"totally misleading press garbage" about the "soon-to-be-released" hostages.

Peer pressure to go along and not dissent doesn't have to be overt to be effective. Unless old-fashioned journalistic integrity replaces careerism and pandering to popular passions, then we as a nation will be as badly served by our foreign press corps in the many revolutions on the horizon as we have been in 1917 (Russia), 1949 (China), 1959 (Cuba), and 1979 (Iran). ■

## AIRLIFT. . .

*continued from page 29*

ready to strike while the iron was hot. One senior official of the Jewish Agency later told *New York Times* reporter Thomas L. Friedman, "We made every single professional mistake in the book . . . Nobody knew what or how much they were supposed to say."

The New York section of the World Zionist Organization, responsible for distributing the press release that turned the leak into a flood, will not say why they publicized a supposedly secret operation. Shafer Stollman, of the Jewish agency, speculates that those responsible for alerting the media weren't professionals and didn't realize what a press release implied. Stollman speculates that, besides facilitating fundraising for the mission, the press release could serve one other purpose: to deflect criticism that, for years, Israel had ignored the repatriation of the black Ethiopian Jews because of the color of their skin.

• • •

The story became so hot that even today it's hard to find sources who will go on record telling when the airlift finally resumed. One American source with close ties to Ethiopian Jews in Israel says the suspension lasted until March 22, when the United States flew the remain-

ing refugees from the Sudan. Now, almost a year after Operation Moses began (November 1984), most of the Ethiopian refugees are living in twenty-one resettlement camps where they are learning the language, and something about the customs of modern Judaism. Some attempts are being made either to teach the refugees modern trades or to find them work in their ancient trades, such as textile or pottery making. The Israeli government estimated it will spend \$300 million on absorption this year.

Meanwhile, controversy continues over whether the Ethiopians are Jews under the Law of Return, or whether they must undergo a symbolic conversion ritual. Greatly offended by doubts about their authenticity, some refugees held a protest march to the airport last spring, symbolically staging a return to the country in which they were *falasha* (strangers), but most certainly Jews. As it stands today, the Ethiopians live under a compromise arrangement whereby individuals must be able to demonstrate before being married by a rabbi that their mothers were Jews or that their families had not intermarried.

The exodus also provided justification for the overthrow of the President of the Sudan. On April 6, Gaafar Nimeiri was removed in a *coup*. While he is in exile in Egypt, he is being tried *in absentia*. His crimes, according to attorney general

Omar Abdelati, quoted in *The Washington Post*, include smuggling Jews out of the country to Israel "when we are officially at war with that country." ■

## Corrections

In the previous issue of *NR*, under Nieman Notes, John Hughes (NF '62) was erroneously described as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. He was, in fact, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. The item also mentioned that he owns two newspapers on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. The number should have been five.

\* \* \*

In the same issue, it was reported that Smith Hempstone (NF '65) had been appointed associate editor of *The Washington Times*, previously having been editor in chief. He has asked us to correct this information: He was not editor in chief nor was he appointed associate editor of the *Times*. He has no connection with the newspaper and is writing a column, which on occasion may appear in the *Times*, as in other U.S. newspapers.

We regret these errors.



# NIEMAN NOTES

Far from this desk, early one recent summer morning in the countryside, we were treated to the sight of what at first glance was a most unusual skunk. As we watched, the creature divided in two and we beheld a mother and her nursing baby. She was not interested in providing sustenance any more and clambered up a rocky incline to escape maternal duties. Her offspring followed laboriously and noisily, and as they disappeared over the rise, we were left pondering a new concept — skunk milk.

— 1943 —

FRANK KELLY is one of eight contributors to a compendium of essays titled *The Hundred Percent Challenge: Building the United States Institute of Peace*, edited by Charles Duryea Smith, and published in June by Seven Locks Press, Maryland.

Kelly, who makes his home in Santa Barbara, California, is senior vice president, the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and former vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

— 1945 —

HOUSTOUN WARING, editor *emeritus* of the *Littleton (Colorado) Independent*, wrote in a note dated May 8, 1985: "Today we printed President Bok's document on preventing nuclear war. Because of its wisdom, I trust other Niemanians will spread the word.

"Noting the date above, I realize it was 59 years ago that I wrote my first three editorials for the *Littleton Independent*. I can't stop now!"

— 1951 —

EDWIN O. GUTHMAN, editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* since 1977, has been named a vice president of Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc., publisher of the *Inquirer* and the *Daily News*. He previously was national editor of *The Los Angeles Times* and, from 1961 to 1965, press secretary to Robert F. Kennedy.

— 1960 —

PETER BRAESTRUP, editor of *The Wilson Quarterly*, is the author of the Background Paper for *Battle Lines*, a Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Military and the Media, published in May 1985. (See also page 43 of this issue.)

— 1961 —

ROBERT CLARK, vice president/News for Harte-Hanks Newspapers, was elected president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in April. Clark makes his home in San Antonio, Texas.

— 1964 —

DAN WAKEFIELD's latest novel, *Selling Out*, has been published by Little, Brown and Company. The book has been described as a "contemporary Pilgrim's Progress of one man's journey through glitter, glamour, power, and fame back to sanity." Wakefield lives in Boston, Massachusetts.

## Nieman Fellow from Australia

An additional journalist from overseas has been appointed to the 48th Class of Nieman Fellows at Harvard University. He joins the twelve American journalists and seven from other countries whose appointments were announced in May.

PAUL SHEEHAN, 34, day editor, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Australia. Mr. Sheehan received his B.A. from the Australian National University and a M.S. from Columbia University. At Harvard his study interests will include international aviation, economics, the bureaucratization of modern societies, as well as the influence of American attitudes on current thought and culture in other countries.

— 1966 —

ROBERT C. MAYNARD, editor and publisher of the *Oakland (California) Tribune*, is this year's recipient of the DeWitt Carter Reddick Award presented by the University of Texas in recognition of outstanding achievements in the field of communications.

— 1967 —

PHILIP MEYER, currently a William Rand Kenan Jr. Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, is the author of *The Newspaper Survival Book: An Editor's Guide to Marketing Research*, published in June by Indiana University Press.

— 1969 —

RICHARD C. LONGWORTH, economics correspondent with the *Chicago Tribune*, wrote a *Frontline* show on the collapses of Continental Illinois and Penn Square Banks, which was broadcast over PBS in May. He also was a recent visitor at Lippmann House in Cambridge.

— 1970 —

ROBERT NELSON, a member of the editorial staff of *The Christian Science Monitor*, has been appointed features editor. A veteran of the *Monitor* since 1954, he most recently served as national news editor, a post he also held in the 1960's before going to London for two years as the *Monitor's* correspondent. Between 1973 and 1983 he was media counsel with the Committee on Publication of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston.

— 1971 —

JEROME WATSON, editorial department of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, was one of seven employees honored with the Publisher's Award for "career achievements and outstanding contributions to the newspaper."



Winners receive a bronze plaque and a cash prize.

— 1973 —

G. W. (BILL) STOCKTON, formerly assistant to the executive editor of *The New York Times*, has become a foreign correspondent in Mexico, according to an item in *Editor & Publisher*.

— 1974 —

SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN is the author of *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* published by Random House. The book describes the aims and methods of the Sandinistas, the causes of repression in Nicaragua, the rise of the contras, and Nicaraguan politics in the pre-Somoza period.

— 1975 —

GLORIA LUBKIN, formerly senior editor of *Physics Today*, has been appointed editor, the fifth since the magazine was founded in 1948. She joined the staff as associate editor in 1963 and in the mid-1960's pioneered the in-depth science reporting characteristic of the magazine's Search and Discovery section. She also helped to develop and expand the periodical's coverage of Federal science policy. Since 1970, when she became senior editor, she has been in charge of all the magazine's news coverage.

During her almost twenty-two years at *Physics Today*, Lubkin has reported from laboratories throughout the United States, Western Europe, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China.

— 1976 —

RON JAVERS has been named a vice president of Metrocorp, the parent company of *Manhattan, Inc.* magazine, *Philadelphia* magazine, and *Boston* magazine. As vice president and editor-in-chief, Javers is responsible for the overall editorial direction of all three magazines. He will continue also as editor of *Philadelphia* magazine, a position he has held since 1982.

— 1977 —

TONY CASTRO, formerly special assignments writer with the *Los Angeles Herald-*

*Examiner*, has joined the staff of *Sports Illustrated* in its Los Angeles office.

Castro is the author of *Chicano Power*, a political history of Hispanics in the Southwest. He is married to model Renee LaSalle.

— 1979 —

MICHAEL McDOWELL and Linda Fuerst were wed on May 18 in a ceremony at Trinity College Chapel, the University of Toronto.

Among the guests were McDowell's Nieman classmates from Washington, D.C. — MARGARET ENGEL (*The Washington Post*), PEGGY SIMPSON (Hearst Newspapers), and FRANK VAN RIPER (*New York Daily News*) and his photographer wife Judith Goodman. Also attending the festivities was Tenney Lehman from the Nieman Foundation in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The bride is a criminal lawyer. The groom is current affairs producer for CBC's radio program *As It Happens*.

FRANK VAN RIPER writes that he has been named Washington bureau news editor for the *New York Daily News*.

— 1981 —

A collection of DOUG MARLETTE's "Kudzu" comic strips featuring the Reverend Will B. Dunn has been released by Thomas Nelson Publishers. The book is titled *Just a Simple Country Preacher*.

Marlette, with the *Charlotte (N.C.) Observer*, is a nationally syndicated editorial cartoonist as well.

— 1983 —

Kathy and KARL IDSVOOG announce the birth of their first child, Katherine "Katie" Caroline on June 18.

The Idsvoogs, in partnership with Randy Larsen, operate a video production and broadcast consulting business named Direct Video Marketing in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

— 1984 —

PAUL KNOX, formerly assistant foreign editor, *The Globe and Mail* in Toronto, wrote in June that he had been appointed the *Globe's* Latin America correspondent

and that he will be moving to Mexico City in late summer, "there to spend the next three years. . . . My turf is vast, stretching from Tijuana to Tierra del Fuego and including the Caribbean."

JAN JARBOE and Kemper Diehl are co-authors of *CISNEROS: Portrait of a New American*, a biography of San Antonio mayor Henry G. Cisneros. Corona is the publisher.

JACQUELINE THOMAS, formerly a reporter with the *Chicago Sun-Times*, has been made associate editor on the *Louisville Times* editorial page.

— 1985 —

MARGARET (PEG) FINUCANE and Robert Heisler were wed on August 11 in Westport, Connecticut. Among the guests were her Nieman classmates JERELYN EDDINGS (*The Baltimore Sun*), DEBORAH JOHNSON (NBC News, New York), and Monique and MIKE PRIDE (*Concord [N.H.] Monitor*). In addition, Lois Fiore from the Nieman Foundation attended the ceremony.

Both the bride and the groom are with *Newsday*.

JOEL KAPLAN shared with colleagues Sandra Roberts and Susan Thomas of *The Tennessean* the Green Eyeshade Award for non-deadline reporting. Presented by the Atlanta chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, the prize was given *The Tennessean* for best entry in the 35th Annual Excellence in Journalism Awards competition.

Another country morning we were busy with one of the most pleasurable of non-office routines — scanning the landscape through a telescope, making sure the lighthouse, the harbor, and the tiny church steeple were still in place. To our astonishment and delight, we suddenly spotted three hot air balloons rising from a faraway field. They swung natively in the day's gentle air, then ascended over the village and disappeared in the distance.

A nice getaway, we thought, for a journey with new perspectives. We wish the same for all our readers.

—T.B.K.L.

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